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PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE SEPARATION OF BURMA

By SIR CHARLES INNES, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

It is the experience of everyone, I suppose, that trivial scenes, for no apparent reason, occasionally impress themselves indelibly on the memory. In the beginning of 1919, I was travelling from Tuticorin to Madras. My train drew up at a wayside station, somewhere south of Madura, alongside of another train composed almost entirely of third-class carriages packed with Tamils. The other train moved slowly out of the station. The passengers crowded to the windows to gaze at my train, and ever since I have been haunted by the memory of the dull, dejected look in those hundreds of pairs of staring eyes.

Again in January, 1928, I was making my first tour as Governor of Burma and was visiting the districts in the Irrawaddy delta. I was nearing my destination, and my steamer had slowed down. All around were racing boats which had come out to escort me, and among them was a bigger boat on which a *pwé* was being performed. On the bank not far away a group of Burmese peasant women were sitting. Suddenly one of them, an elderly, fat, shapeless woman, rose up and, amid the delighted laughter of her companions, gave an impromptu and grotesque imitation of the dancing of the slim little lady in the *pwé*. It was one of the most spontaneous exhibitions of light-hearted gaiety I have ever seen, and I realised at once what a different country I was in.

No one can come from India to Burma without feeling--except possibly in Rangoon itself--that he is in a very different atmosphere and among a very different people. When I was Governor of Burma, I entertained many distinguished visitors from India, and their reactions were always the same. One of the most distinguished summed up his impressions when I bade good-bye to

him on his departure. He said, "I am sure that separation is the right thing. It sticks out a mile."

THE TWO BURMAS

The facts that Burma is quite a different country from India and that the Burmans are quite a different people are, of course, elementary, but it is necessary to stress them for they lie at the very root of the case for separation. But with an audience of this kind I need not spend very much time on them. There are one or two points, however, which I must make. It is necessary to bear in mind that there are, so to speak, two Burmas, political Burma and the rest of Burma. By political Burma I mean that part of Burma to which the present Reform Scheme has been applied, and which is becoming politically conscious. I might almost call it Burman Burma, for in this part of Burma the population is predominantly Burman. If we exclude the Arakkan and Tenasserim districts, it consists of the interior part of Burma stretching southward from Katha and widening out in the south into the Irrawaddy delta. It is mostly plain, and on three sides of it there is wild, hilly country inhabited by non-Burman peoples—Chins and Nagas on the west and north-west, Kachins on the north and north-east, and Shans and Karens on the east. Thus though on the west Burma abuts on India, it is in fact cut off from India by a wide belt of hilly, jungly country sparsely inhabited by wild tribes and lying on either side of the frontier. There is no communication by road or rail between India and Burma. In the future air travel may make a difference, but at present for all practical purposes the only way to travel from India to Burma is by sea. The ordinary route is from Calcutta to Rangoon, a distance of 700 miles, approximately the same distance as from Southampton to Lisbon.

BURMA AND INDIA

It is no doubt the result of this natural barrier between the two countries that the Burmans are so different from the peoples of India. It is true that the Buddhist religion originally came from

India, and that centuries ago Burman culture was much influenced by India. Nevertheless, the Burmans are no more Indians than you or I are Slavs or Spaniards. They come from a different stock, they speak a different language, their habits and customs and outlook are different. There is no caste, a fundamental difference, and the position and status of women are much higher in Burma than in India. Opinions may differ whether there is such a thing as an Indian nation, but this much is certain, that the Burmans are no part of that nation.

Moreover, and this is another important fact, there is a certain antipathy between Burmans and Indians. The Burmans look down on the Indians. The usual Burman name for Indian—*Kalá*—has a connotation of contempt. I do not defend this feeling in the least. On the contrary, I think it quite unjustified, but there can be no doubt that it exists. It has its origin probably in the fact that in Rangoon and in Lower Burma generally most of the hard manual and menial work is left—or used to be left—to the thousands of Indian coolies who, attracted by relatively high rates of wages, pour over every year into Burma for work. Since immigration into the United States has been restricted, Rangoon has become the greatest passenger port in the world. Roughly three hundred thousand Indians arrive every year, and almost as many depart. In these hard times, sheer necessity is driving the Burman to work which he hitherto has been content to leave to the Indians, and he resents the fact that it is largely an Indian monopoly. Thus his former rather good-humoured contempt for the Indian has been apt, on more than one occasion recently, to blaze up into active hatred. The fierce anti-Indian riots in Rangoon in May, 1930, are a case in point, and in 1931 my task of suppressing the Burma rebellion was gravely complicated by sporadic attacks on Indian lives and property all through the delta.

THEN AND Now

So far I have made three points, first that Burma is geographically no part of India, secondly that the Burmans are not Indians, and thirdly that, however unjustifiably, they tend to dislike and despise the Indians. Yet by what has been described as a historical

accident, Burma is just a province of British India. Whether on a long view the incorporation of Burma in India was a good thing or a bad thing for Burma is a controversial question on which much could be said on either side. Fortunately, however, it is now a question of merely academic interest, and I do not propose to embark on it. India was our base in all the three Burmese wars, and as we took over first the Arakan and Tenasserim districts, then the rest of Lower Burma, and finally Upper Burma, it was the obvious convenient course to administer them from India, and so long as the British Government in India was an autocratic Government, the arrangement was defensible. Moreover, generally speaking, the Burmans acquiesced in the arrangement. It is true that not only the Burmans but also the British officials complained of the rather step-motherly attitude of the Government of India in the matter of finance, and it was admitted by the Meston Committee that Burma was the most undeveloped province of British India. It was probably mainly for this reason that the demand for separation was made from time to time, but it was never seriously pressed.

Inevitably, however, the announcement of 1917 and the Government of India Act of 1919 disturbed this equanimity. The announcement made it plain that eventually a fundamental change would come over the Government of India, and that the time would come when the autocratic British Government would be replaced by a Government responsible to an Indian Legislature, and the Act of 1919 was the first instalment of this reform. The question of separation was at once reopened. The Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill referred to the possibility of separation, and the question was raised in the Council of State almost as soon as that body came into existence. The spokesman of the Government of India admitted that there was a case, but suggested that the matter was one which should be raised in the reformed Legislature in Burma. The reforms were introduced into Burma in 1923, and not long afterwards a resolution was passed in the Legislative Council which was in effect, if not in terms, a resolution in favour of separation, every Burman in the House except one voting for it. In the election

of 1928 the principal Burman party in the Legislative Council adopted separation as the main plank in its platform.

THE CHOICE FOR PARLIAMENT

But I have not time to go further into history, and I pass on at once to the choice which lies before Parliament. I use the word Parliament advisedly. Burma had the opportunity of making the choice herself. She has thrown away that opportunity, and now the choice has to be made for her. Parliament has to decide whether Burma should remain a province of India, and should be incorporated in the Indian Federation, or whether she should be separated from India and set on her own political course apart from India.

Certain stubborn facts at once suggest themselves. I have mentioned two of them already—namely, that Burma is geographically a separate country from India, and that the Burmans are not Indians. A third is that of distance. The Indian Legislature sits at Delhi and Simla. Delhi is roughly 1,700 miles from Rangoon; Simla, of course, is even further. Governing Burma from Delhi and Simla is like governing the United Kingdom from Berlin. Finally, there is the matter of population. The population of Burma is just under 15 millions, that of India proper is 336 millions. The strength proposed for the Federal Assembly is 375. One hundred and twenty-five of these will be representatives of the Indian States, which, of course, have hardly any connection with Burma. Two hundred and fifty members will represent British India. It is proposed to allocate representation among the provinces mainly on a population basis, and on this basis Burma would only get 14 or 15 seats. Clearly 14 or 15 Burman members in an Assembly of 375 would count for very little. They would have no chance of making the Burman point of view effective, or of influencing perceptibly Federal policy.

THE TEST OF COMMON INTEREST

These facts, however, are not in themselves decisive. Burma is a comparatively small country wedged in between two much bigger ones. Everyone hopes that Federal India will become

increasingly great, powerful, and prosperous, and it might be thought that Burma might well be content to remain a part of India, in order that she may continue to enjoy its protection and share in its prosperity. It is necessary, therefore, to go deeper. The Indian Federation will clearly be a federation of unusual kind, but for the sake of simplicity I propose to assume that it will be a federation of the normal type—that is, a federation resulting from a pact entered into by a number of autonomous political units each agreeing to surrender to the new central organism created by their pact an identical range of powers, jurisdiction, and resources. The surrender involves a common sacrifice on the part of the component units, but the sacrifice is agreed to in the common interest of all, and no one will dispute the proposition that no federation can be a lasting success unless it is bound together by close ties of common interest.

The proposed Indian Federation may not be of the normal type, but ties of common interest do exist. Some of them are the result of close geographical connection. Indian State territory and British Indian territory are inextricably mixed, and this fact in itself makes for unity. It is in the common interest of all that the Indian Railways, the Indian Postal and Telegraph system, and the Indian currency should be efficiently managed. The Government of India's tariff policy affects Indian States just as much as the British Provinces since they all have the same sea board, and the former ought to have some say in shaping that policy. A common régime is required for ports in Indian States and for ports in British India. The defence of India is a common national problem for all parts of the sub-continent. Many other ties of similar nature could be mentioned, but probably the strongest tie of all is the sentimental tie of growing national feeling. This feeling, I believe, provides the strongest incentive to federation. Every educated Indian, whether the subject of the King-Emperor or of an Indian Prince, is keenly desirous that India should be united, as far as may be, into one great self-governing country.

But apply this test—the test of common interest—to Burma, and at once it fails. The sentimental tie is lacking. The Burman

may sympathize with Indian national aspirations, but he does not share them. He has his own aspirations, and he is not going permanently to subordinate them to those of India. Moreover, the Burman rarely visits India. He is out of touch with Indian sentiment, and most of the problems which agitate educated India leave him cold. I was for six and a half years a member of the Legislative Assembly, and from my experience I should say that the questions which after that of constitutional reform most interest the Assembly are (1) the Hindu-Muslim trouble; (2) the position of Indians overseas; (3) social questions such as the age of consent, the *devadasi* problem, and the problem of the Depressed Classes; and (4) Indianization. The first three have no interest at all for the Burman, and as regards the fourth, what he wants is not Indianization but Burmanization.

In material matters the position is the same, and here the geographical factor is important. Take four typical federal functions—railways, external affairs, external defence, and tariff policy—and ask yourselves whether there is any reason why Burma should surrender the revenues from customs duties, income-tax, and the excise on salt in order that these functions may be exercised for her by a distant Government which *ex-hypothesi* will eventually be Indian. There is no connection between the Burma railways and the Indian railway system. The former is, and is likely long to remain, an independent system. The Indian Foreign Office is mainly preoccupied with the Persian Gulf, Persia, and Afghanistan. None of these countries interest Burma, and India is equally uninterested in Burma's land frontier problems. Indeed, as the Foreign Secretary once said to me, Foreign Office questions rarely arise in Burma.

The external defence of India is quite a different problem from that of Burma. For India the problem is that of the defence of the North-West Frontier. As the Simon Commission put it, Burma is interested in that problem just as much as, but no more than, Ceylon. Burma is fortunate in the fact that owing to the nature of the country the defence of her land frontier is not a very formidable problem. There are no roads, and an invasion in force by a modern army would not be possible without long pre-

paration. The most Burma has had to fear in the last 100 years has been an occasional petty raid, and the Burma Military Police is quite competent to deal with such raids, and indeed the Government of India keep a minimum garrison in Burma, and entrust the day-to-day work of guarding the frontier to the Burma Military Police.

TARIFFS

When we come to tariff policy, the failure of the test becomes even more apparent. Not only is there no community of interest between India and Burma, but there is an actual clash of interest. India has embarked on a policy of discriminating protection. She is not in the least likely to go back on that policy. On the contrary, she will almost certainly extend and develop it. She has already imposed heavy protective duties on iron and steel, textiles, and other articles. Burma has no industries of this kind to protect. She has to pay the duties without getting any benefit from them. On the contrary, they are injurious to her. Her interests lie wholly in the direction of free trade, and she requires customs duties solely for revenue purposes. Her prosperity depends almost entirely on her rice crop. Her interest is to sell her primary products, especially her rice, in the world's markets at the best possible price, and in return to obtain as cheaply as possible her requirements of manufactured articles. In other words, her interests are fundamentally at variance with those of India, but so long as she is part of India, inevitably they have to give way to the larger interests of India.

It is, of course, a weakness of federations that the interests of the part do not always coincide with those of the whole, and that when this conflict occurs, fissiparous tendencies are apt to occur. There is a recent example in Australia. West Australia, which is an agricultural country, has been so disastrously affected by the Federal policy of protecting Australian industries, that she actually voted last year for secession from the Union. There would be the same kind of friction between Burma and India if Burma were included in the Federation, but it would be worse. The people of West Australia are Australians, members of the Australian

nation. The Burmans are not Indians. They are not, and do not wish to be, part of the Indian nation.

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PICTURE

It might be thought that this is a one-sided presentation of the case. All I can say is that it is the way the case works out. I do not think that anything I have said can be seriously challenged. But naturally one cannot separate two countries, which have been so long and so closely connected as India and Burma, without there being some disadvantages. One of the advantages of the present régime is that Burma has the Indian market open to her rice, her oil, her teak, and her silver. It is true that in some respects the advantage has already gone. The excise duty on Burman petrol and silver is already equal to the customs duty on imports from foreign countries, and the gap between the import duty on foreign kerosene and the excise duty has recently been narrowed and is now perilously small. Still I do not deny that one of the disadvantages of separation is that in the normal course goods interchanged between the two countries will be liable to the ordinary customs duties, and I have always hoped that this disadvantage would be materially lessened by a specially favourable trade agreement. Another disadvantage is that Burma will no longer have the benefit of India's credit, and that she will probably have to pay more for such money as she requires to raise in the open market.

Another objection which is sometimes taken is that Burma cannot afford separation. The contrary view is equally strongly held—namely, that Burma can no longer afford the Indian connection. It is an undoubted fact that the prevailing depression which has affected Burma more severely perhaps than any other country in the world has made separation a much less attractive financial proposition than it seemed five years ago. Also much depends on what share of India's unproductive debt and pensionary charges will be passed on to Burma. It is probably fair to say, however, that separation will effect an immediate improvement in the financial position of Burma, and that the improvement will become progressively greater as trade gets better.

Burma will at least get control of the three expanding heads of revenue—customs, income-tax, and salt—which are at present reserved to the Central Government.

BURMAN OPINION

In my view, however, considerations of comparative advantage and disadvantage, important as they are in themselves, are merely secondary considerations. They do not go to the root of the problem. There are others of a more fundamental nature. Geographically Burma is a separate country from India, and whatever criterion you apply, whether that of history or race or language or customs, the Burmans are not Indians. It is now proposed gradually to introduce self-government institutions into India. Clearly, therefore, the incorporation of Burma in India can no longer be justified on the grounds of administrative convenience. Clearly Burma cannot be included in the Indian Federation except at her own express wish. The objection will at once be taken that it is precisely here that the difficulty lies, for it is impossible for the ordinary intelligent person to make out from the events of the last fifteen months exactly what Burma does wish. Certainly this period has been filled with rather incoherent clamour, but it is not difficult to explain how the present confused political situation has arisen in Burma. Almost every educated Burman is in favour of separation, and regards it as inevitable. The only difference of opinion is whether there should be immediate separation or whether it should be postponed to a later date.

There is no dispute about this statement of the case. It was admitted to be correct in the first formal protest made against the recommendation of the Simon Commission that Burma should be separated from India forthwith. That recommendation at first was universally acclaimed in Burma. It was not till six months later, when the First Round-Table Conference had already recorded a provisional decision in favour of separation, that the protest was received. It took the form of a document circulated to every member of the Conference, and it emanated from a group of extreme politicians, many of them monks, who

have consistently refused to co-operate with the Government and who are in touch with the extreme left wing of the Indian Congress. I do not mean to say that all anti-separationists belong to this group, but it was this group that engineered the campaign against separation. In particular they engineered the election of 1932.

The position of those opposed to immediate separation is that Burma should be allowed to enter the Federation on a strictly temporary basis, with the right reserved to her to secede at will, the assumption—an entirely erroneous one—being that in this way Burma would get full self-government quicker than she could expect to achieve it independently of India. The Prime Minister made it perfectly clear that this solution was not admissible, and that Burma must choose between two alternatives—either she could separate and pursue her own political destiny apart from India, or she could enter the Federation unconditionally on the same terms as any other province of British India. This pronouncement, however, was discounted. It was represented that the matter was one for India to decide, and that the Congress had expressed its willingness to let Burma come in on her own terms.

THE GENERAL ELECTION OF 1932

Thus temporary federation was the position of most of the anti-separationist candidates at the election of 1932, but the extreme group took charge of the election campaign and took the broad and easy line of attacking separation. Leaflets containing the most unscrupulous misrepresentations were circulated in every village. In particular much use was made of the fact that it was proposed to reserve the Ecclesiastical Department, and it was alleged that if Burma was separated from India, the Governor would take control of the Buddhist religion. Even the begging bowls of the monks would be taxed. By this lie the influence of the village monks was brought to bear on the villagers to vote against separation. But the victory when it was gained was a very embarrassing one, and the more moderate anti-separationists found that they had been manœuvred into a thoroughly false position. Their

mandate from the electorate, though it was not a true mandate, was to vote against separation, but this was just what they were not prepared to do. They had already been told that it was useless to vote for temporary federation, and none of them knew what line to take. The only thing they made clear in the long and involved resolution passed at the meeting of the Legislative Council in December, 1932, was that they were unalterably opposed to unconditional federation. They were given a second chance. A special meeting of the Council was held in June last in order that they might say which of the alternatives offered them by the Prime Minister they preferred, but again they flinched from making a decision, and after a long debate extending over many days the Council ended without any vote being taken.

There is only one thing that stands out clear from the confusion, the admitted fact that educated Burmans, almost to a man, are in favour of separation, though some would like it postponed. Those who wish to enter the Indian Federation temporarily, wish to enter it not because Burma has any contribution to make to its strength and solidarity, but merely as a matter of tactics to serve their own political ends. Burma would be a source of weakness, not of strength, to the Federation. The Burmans do not belong to India, they are not in sympathy with Indian sentiment, and in important respects their interests differ. Burma would be a foreign body in an organism which, at first at any rate, must necessarily be delicate, and her inclusion in the Federation would be good neither for herself nor for India. If the Burmans want separation, as admittedly they do, clearly they have come now to the parting of the ways. That seems to me to be the conclusion of the whole matter.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Cavton Hall, Westminster, on Tuesday, January 16, 1934, when a paper entitled "The Separation of Burma" was read by Sir Charles Innes, K.C.S.I., C.I.E. The Right Hon. Sir Robert Horne, G.B.E., K.C., M.P., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

The Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, G.C.I.L., K.C.S.I., Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Basil Blackett, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., Sir Walter Willson, Sir Hubert Carr, Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Henry Lawrence, K.C.S.I., Sir Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Clement Hindley, K.C.I.E., Sir Duncan J. Macpherson, C.I.E., Sir George Buchanan, K.C.I.E., Major-General Sir William Beynon, K.C.I.E., C.B., and Lady Beynon, Lady Innes, Sir John O. Miller, K.C.S.I., Lady Scott Moncrieff, Mr. F. B. Leach, C.I.R., Mr. H. K. Briscoe, C.S.I., C.I.E., Mr. P. C. Dutt, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Colonel W. G. Hamilton, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. and Mrs. Watkins, Mr. W. Stenhouse Lamb, Mr. C. B. Chartres, Mr. S. T. Sheppard, Mr. A. Sabonadière, Mr. V. H. Boalthe, C.B.E., Mr. Joseph Nissim, Mr. and Mrs. J. J. Nolan, Mr. R. A. Wilson, Mr. and Mrs. William Lamb, Mr. R. C. Lai, Mr. H. M. Willmott, Mr. C. C. Fink, Mr. and Mrs. D. Ross Johnson, Miss F. Leatherdale, Miss N. Cook, Miss V. Hardwicks, Miss C. Hardwicke, Mr. C. H. Northmore, Rev. T. Fisher, Mr. H. K. Sadler, Mr. L. Glass, Mr. J. Gordon, Captain H. J. Inman, Mrs. Kinnier Tarte, the Rev. H. Halliwell, Mrs. Churchill, Miss Bacon, Mr. C. Innes, Miss C. M. Morton, Miss Hanson, Miss Speechley, Mrs. H. Landee Johnston, Mrs. Hamilton, Mr. S. Barman, Mr. and Mrs. Doune, Mr. F. C. Robey, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN said: Ladies and Gentlemen, I wish to express my pleasure that such a large and so distinguished an audience has assembled this afternoon to hear Sir Charles Innes speak upon a subject with which he is much more familiar than almost anybody else in this country. I ought to tell you, in the first place, that Lord Lamington, our President, is unable to be here this afternoon and sends an apology, and the same is true of Sir John Kerr, Chairman of the Council, and of a large number of others who much regret that they are unable to be present.

The topic upon which we are to be addressed is one of intense interest, not merely to those who happen to have special knowledge of Burma and perhaps are interested in its trade and business, but as a subject of vital importance to all who desire the welfare of the British Empire. It opens up a problem which is in some respects enticing and in some respects very puzzling. It is a more difficult question, for example, in some aspects than is the question of the new Constitution for India, and we in this country have found it almost impossible to follow the divagations of opinion that

have been shown amongst the various communities in Burma. I am not sure whether the situation has been clear even to people in Burma, but at least it has presented many strange twists to those who have attempted to give close study to the question here. The Burmans themselves have not been very stable in the attitude which they have taken to it, and sometimes it has been very difficult to know how the opinions they expressed could be reconciled with the votes which they gave. The European community has also been fickle. I myself have had the experience of hearing views expressed which were exactly the contrary of those which the same people had previously enunciated. Accordingly I am sure that we are most grateful for the opportunity which allows us to hear a master upon this subject this afternoon.

May I say, by way of indicating some of the facets of this question that present themselves to my own mind, that there are certain considerations which have to be kept in view in coming to any conclusion. I only give expression to them now, not with a view of even hinting at an opinion, but as indicating some of the things that we have to keep in mind.

In the first place, it is perfectly obvious that from a political point of view Burma might obtain certain advantages through political separation from India. All of us must have been conscious from time to time, as the Burmese themselves were, that their voices were never adequately heard in the Legislative Assembly at Delhi, and I do not imagine that it would ever be possible in any scheme that might be devised to satisfy the *amour propre* of Burma by giving her membership of a Legislature composed almost entirely of representatives from the enormously populous areas of India. I think, however, that people sometimes give too much weight to the distance of Burma from India. There is, in fact, not so great a distance between Calcutta and Rangoon as between Madras and Peshawar, and transport nowadays is of a character which practically annihilates distance.

On the other hand, there are matters which are obviously of importance. There is the fact that in the matter of defence Burma is involved with India. There is also the consideration that a large part of Burmese labour is derived from India. We know that the number of coolies that cross the sea in the year from India to Burma to take part in the industry of that country is very large. I am not sure that it is so large now as it was, but a year or two ago there were about 360,000 coolies who came from India to do the work of Burma. Again, the capital upon which Burmese industry rests is very largely supplied from Britain and from India. There is also the overwhelming consideration that India is Burma's market. Without the great market that she has in India, Burma's position would indeed be a very difficult one.

All of these things, as you can see, have got to be taken into account when any new constitutional arrangements are made, and they would at least indicate to a superficial observer that in any separation that may take place between Burma and India it will be absolutely necessary to have trade agreements which will create some security for the trading position which Burma has hitherto enjoyed. I have no doubt that we are about to be

greatly enlightened upon these topics, and it now gives me the greatest possible pleasure to call upon Sir Charles Innes.

(Sir CHARLES INNES then read his paper.)

The CHAIRMAN : I am sure you will agree with me that we have listened to a very informative and illuminating address upon this subject. It has cleared up many matters which previously were obscure. Now the opportunity has come for the members of the audience to play their part in the discussion of this question. I should like to call in the first place upon Mr. Nolan, the distinguished former editor of the *Rangoon Times* in his day, and, later, Information Officer of the Government of Burma.

Mr. J. J. NOLAN : It is a pleasure for anyone who has been in Burma and is a separationist to find Sir Charles Innes in a position of greater freedom and less responsibility where he can speak without restraint. One of the evils from which the Burmese believe that everyone suffers is the Government official; consequently, the views he holds are necessarily evil, and any views which he is supposed to hold the Burman will oppose. It was believed that the Government, and especially the Governor, was intensely for separation, and that was good enough for attacking the Government's policy and voting against separation.

There are one or two points Sir Charles made which might be accentuated. There is one small matter : for many years there was a considerable export trade from Burma in hides and skins. They went to Italy and elsewhere. About 1917 or 1918 the Government of India passed an Act which put an export duty upon these hides and skins, and the tanneries in Northern India were benefited thereby; but the export trade from Burma has considerably fallen, and as there are tanneries in the Province, it has been hard hit.

There is another issue which might be put forward, and that is it is not yet seventeen years since the then Governor, Sir Harcourt Butler, whom we had hoped to see here today, called together a gathering of representative men in Burma to discuss the question as to whether the Legislative Council should be enlarged. The committee contained a large proportion of Burmans and several representative Indians, and their decision was unanimous that the Legislative Council, on which there were only two elected members, should be continued as it was. Previously the only elected members were representatives of the Burma Chamber of Commerce and the Rangoon Traders' Association.

Within four or five months of that decision not to ask for an extension of the elective system, the famous declaration of August, 1917, was made, and Burma was forced into the whole current of Indian politics. It has been a very open question whether the seventeen years that have elapsed since have been sufficient to educate the Burmans into the right attitude of democratic bodies.

One of the difficulties that always arises is the attitude democratic bodies take towards their officials. In prominent questions in Burma, and India as well, democratic bodies have not played the game by their permanent

officials. This whole question of political education is one which has made some people doubtful as to whether Burma is not asked to take on too much. It is in less than seventeen years asked to telescope the whole political experience of centuries into its public life. But that is quite apart from the main subject of separation. Sir Charles Innes has shown us that separation is for the benefit of Burma. The Burmese form no part whatever of the Indian nation. The Burmese being called the Irishmen of the East, I sympathize with their view that they should have the opportunity of developing according to their own system.

I am sure we are all grateful to Sir Charles for enlightening us on a subject about which many people know very little.

Mr. JOSEPH NISSIM (late I.C.S., Bombay): We have listened to a discourse of brilliance, and, coming as it does from so distinguished a Governor as Sir Charles Innes, it must carry the greatest possible weight with us. But I wish to submit that it is, to some extent at any rate, one-sided, and there are certain qualifications I should like to urge with regard to the recent history of this question of separation.

Sir Charles Innes has in his brilliant paper told us that the question was not one of practical politics till 1919; nobody was interested in it till then, but it has cropped up since, and, if you remember, the question of separation became acute while the Simon Commission was reporting, and had reported, and before the question of Federation in India had ever come into practical politics. When it was a question of provincial autonomy in India merely, with no great opportunity for Burma to influence central politics, to take a share in Central Government, then, of course, it became fairly clear that Burma would be far better off as a separate Province. But this great hesitation which has arisen since is something which I foresaw as soon as Federation came into the picture. Then you found that Burma, attracted by the enormous possibilities of Federated India, began to hesitate; and that is one of the qualifications I should like to make with regard to Sir Charles Innes's address that Federation in India has made the question a more difficult one for Burma to decide. It has attracted Burma and kept it from coming to any definite conclusion with regard to separation.

The burden is heavy on those who would enforce or advise separation. Matters should remain as they are until it becomes absolutely clear that a change is necessary. But when you have regard to the attitude of Burmans and to the intricate considerations that arise on either side, you see there is no such overwhelming consideration that would enable us to say that separation would be definitely for the good of Burma, because that is the important matter.

Another point I would like to make is this: that the interests of the Indian population in Burma seem to be entirely overlooked by Sir Charles Innes in his survey. If there is antipathy between them, surely by separation the Indian minorities in Burma are likely to suffer a great deal, and I for one wish to enter a protest that in this matter the point of view of India is not taken into account. Indians are not invited to take part in the negotiations that are going on. If you will bear in mind the interests of

minorities in India, including the British, you will not be so easily driven to separation as the inevitable best for Burma.

On the question of defence one has to take a very large view. Whatever affects Indian defence must, of course, react upon Burma. Not only that, but you have to remember that Burma has been endowed with legislation of the utmost value. The legislation has been worked out at Delhi and Simla, and Burma is content to abide by it so far. Of course, if it is a matter of seats in the Federal Legislature, that is a point for adjustment. I think separation will raise far more difficult problems than you can picture at this particular moment of time. So that without more argument, I wish to say that there is another side to the issue, and that much stronger than Sir Charles Innes suspects. The hesitation there should make us hesitate here, and I hope it will not come to Parliament deciding where the Burmese themselves are apparently divided.

Mr. F. B. LEACH : Mr. Nissim made the very interesting, but to me rather novel, suggestion that the proposal for Federation in India had altered the position with regard to Burma—it has, I admit, altered the position—but also that it had influenced the Burmans in their views on the question. All I can say is that if anybody will read the published account of the Joint Select Committee's conference with the Burman Delegation, held last month, I do not think he will find that any of the Burman delegates who spoke against separation raised that point at all or gave any indication whatever that their views or the views of the voters they represented had been altered by the proposal for a Federation in India. One of them took a very strong line, and definitely declared in favour of Federation even if it had to be permanent. But he got himself, as the papers show, into a very awkward position over that. He was asked a number of questions, and he made the rather curious admission at one time that he was not thinking of the future of his own country, but only of the immediate question now under discussion. He finally made the even more curious admission that one of his reasons against separation was that he did not think Burma was fit to stand on its own legs either politically or financially. He may be right or he may be wrong, but he certainly did not raise the point, and I do not think any of the other delegates did, that the introduction of Federation into India had altered the question. Then there was one other point Mr. Nissim made. He said that the Indians had not been invited to represent their views on the question of the Indian minority in Burma. I do not think that is quite correct. Both the delegations which have been sent from Burma to India have included Indians and representatives of all the other minorities. In the last delegation there were seven Burmans and five minority representatives, two Indians, a Karen, a European, and an Anglo-Indian, which is entirely out of proportion to the actual population.

The Indian position has certainly been considered most carefully by the Governments both of India and of Burma, but I would remind Mr. Nissim that the line taken up by Indian politicians generally has been that, though they will, of course, demand adequate safeguards for their minority in

Burma, at the same time the question of the separation of Burma is essentially one for the Burmans themselves to decide, and if they are satisfied that the Burmans want separation, they will not oppose it; they will demand safeguards, but that is all.

Of this I am sure, that H.M. Government in this country will take exactly the same line as the Governments of India and Burma have taken, that there must be adequate safeguards. It has been provided for in India, and obviously will have to be provided for in Burma too.

Mr. NISSIM: The point I was making was that at this crucial stage there has been no opportunity given to the delegates from India to meet the delegates from Burma.

Mr. LEACH: I am sorry if I misunderstood Mr. Nissim. It is correct, of course, that the Indian delegation and the Burmese delegation did not meet in England, but it does not alter what I said just now, that the Indian Legislature and Indian politicians generally have taken up the clear line that the question is one for the Burmans to decide for themselves.

The real difficulty about separation is, as Sir Charles Innes mentioned, the question of a trade agreement between Burma and India. There is no doubt whatever that nobody could contemplate with any equanimity a tariff war between India and Burma. What the result of it would be it is extraordinarily difficult to prophesy. It does not seem at all likely at present that India would put a tariff on Burma rice. She has shown no inclination to put a tariff on foodstuffs, and I do not think for a long time to come she would do that, and that is her main import from Burma. But a tariff war between the two countries would be a most unfortunate thing for both of them, certainly for Burma, and I think it is quite clear that the most important thing which has got to be decided now is the question of this trade agreement. That is one which will have to be faced by the Joint Select Committee when they meet next month, and by Parliament when the whole question comes up before them.

But apart from that, I agree with Sir Charles that there are very important arguments in favour of separation, and I do not think that anybody who reads the case which was put up for Burma being in the Federation at the Joint Select Committee last month will be very much impressed by it.

Sir Louis DANE: I am very glad that it has been recognized that it would be impossible to have separation between Burma and India without providing for the enormously important commercial interests which have sprung up in Burma which have conducted so greatly to the prosperity of both countries, thanks mainly to the enterprise of European firms. Their market is mainly in India. It is all very well to talk about friendly understandings or even trade agreements, but unfortunately our experience with Southern Ireland has shown that it is difficult, when States are autonomous and self-governing, to enforce any agreement or any understanding. One will be very interested to see what will be the measures taken to ensure that this beneficial freedom of trade is not disrupted by political jealousies.

It might be possible to provide in the written Constitution that for fifteen years the present free trade between them should continue, and no tariffs or trade barriers should be set up without mutual consent and the approval of Great Britain. That possibly might work, but I do not think any other form of agreement would. It would be open to either party to tear up the agreement, and that would lead to war, commercial or actual; and does anybody propose that Burma should levy war on India or vice versa? That is the difficulty with Ireland at the moment.

Sir Charles has not said very much about the defence of Burma, because I suppose in the past Burma has been perfectly satisfied to rely on the might of India to protect her. He has said that questions of the Burma frontier do not often affect the India Foreign Office. That is true of recent years, but when I was Foreign Secretary it was not true. The question of the defence of the frontier of Burma came up once or twice rather acutely, and at any moment it might occur again—with the greatest respect to Sir Charles. Burma has a sea frontier, and some arrangement will have to be made for the protection of that, unless England is called upon to bear the whole of the burden of maintaining the sea frontier of Burma without charge. Also, though some of the tribes in Burma make excellent soldiers, hitherto she has relied mainly on Britain and India, and I do not know how she is going to do without them.

Further, we have very enterprising and powerful neighbours on the East, and with some difficulty a buffer State has been kept in existence. The position in Siam now is not quite as satisfactory as many of us would wish to see. Any of you here could easily figure to yourselves what would happen if in the cause of so-called democracy Siam became a vortex of chaotic revolutions and insurrections. Somebody would have to intervene to restore order. Who would that somebody be, and what would be the effect on the long Burma frontier? There are very serious questions connected with the defence of Burma, and these will have to be very carefully considered. That and the trade situation of Burma are the two main difficulties in a separation.

SIR CLEMENT HINDLEY: I cannot pose as a politician, but I would like to ask Sir Charles one or two questions. If we were really satisfied that Burma could stand alone, the picture which Sir Charles has given us of an autonomous Burma would be most attractive. Everyone who has been to Burma must have very great sympathy with the Burmese themselves. They are perhaps the most attractive nation in the whole of the British Empire. One would like to see them standing on their own feet, but I wonder whether all the possibilities have been considered.

I should like to ask how the railways are going to be expanded. During the brief period of prosperity we had, when we were able to do some railway construction, Burma received a very satisfactory share of what the Government of India were able to do in the way of railway extensions. I wonder whether Burma could finance its own railway development, which is of very great importance to Burma itself.

On the question of defence, I wonder if the frontier on the China side is

really quite so safe as has been told us. The silver mines and the lead mines were worked by China originally, and I always looked upon Burma as having a great hinterland in the Yunnan, an enormously populated hinterland, with a very long distance to its other seaboard and a very short distance to the sea through Burma. It was always one of my ambitions to run a railway up to Namkham. We thought we might perhaps introduce some economic benefit to Burma by bringing in cheap labour. It would have been done, but I am very doubtful whether Burma itself would be able to do it on its own finances.

As to this question of Burma standing on its own feet, Burma as a nation cannot be considered a very strong or virile nation. You have on the one side a steady invasion of Indians from the west—in fact, visiting Rangoon for the first time, one almost might consider it an Indian city—and on the northern side you have a potentially large invasion of Chinese. Is not little Burma likely to be crushed between these nut-crackers unless it has the support of its really very strong neighbour, India? If Burma sets itself up, as it might very well do, to fight India economically, won't it get somewhat into the position of Southern Ireland? A Burman De Valera might cause havoc with the future economics of Burma.

I am only asking questions. I am not stating any opinions. I should like to congratulate Sir Charles on his very eloquent picture of the problem which he knows so well.

SIR CHARLES INNLS: I will take first the gentleman who has spoken last. He said, Here is this little country, Burma, wedged in between these two enormous countries, India and China. If Burma tries to stand alone, is it not likely to be her fate that she will be squeezed between these two nut-crackers and lose her identity?

Surely the obvious answer is that it is certain Burma will lose her identity as a separate nation if she is not separated. There she is, squeezed in between these two large countries of India and China. Indians pour in every year to Burma without let or hindrance. I do not deny that some Indian immigration is absolutely necessary to the economic well-being of Burma, but for years past, ever since the opening of the Suez Canal, Indians have flocked more and more into Burma, and the immigration of Indians into Burma cannot be regulated so long as Burma is just a province of British India. As long as Burma remains a province of British India there is no way of stopping Indians pouring in in any numbers into Burma. There are now over one million Indians there, and if you leave the position as it is now, inevitably Burma must become Indianized.

That is what the Burmans feel so much themselves. That is one reason why the Burman sentiment is so strongly in favour of separation. They do not want to stop Indian immigration altogether. They would be fools if they did, because the Indians perform a most valuable function in Burma. But, as the Whitley Commission pointed out, it is absolutely essential in Burma's own interests that Burma should have the power of regulating the inflow of Indian labour into Burma.

Then, again, Sir Clement said, What is Burma going to do about railway

development? Burma at the moment is in a bad way. Nearly all agricultural countries are, because the price of primary products is lower than it has been in the memory of living man. But I hope it is not always going to be so; we hope that the tide of prosperity is going to flow again, and when prices do rise, and when Burma again gets prosperous, I believe myself that Burma will have a surplus of income over expenditure which will enable her to go into the London market and borrow money for railway and other development on the security of her revenues.

Even on the financial side, I must remind Sir Clement Hindley, Burma runs risks in some ways in remaining part of India. Everyone knows that it is a real danger for India that at any time there may be trouble on the North-West Frontier, and experience shows how expensive such trouble may be. I believe that the relief of Wana in 1919 cost the Government of India 20 crores, and the last war with Afghanistan cost much more. As I said before, Burma is very little concerned with the North-West Frontier of India, but at present she has to bear her share of expenditure there.

I am told that there is the possibility of real danger on the land frontier of Burma. I think that I am correct in saying that the last serious invasion from China took place about 1780. Sir Louis Dane referred to the dispute about Hpimaw. Nevertheless, the fact remains that we have never had to deal with anything more than small unimportant raids from China, and that the Burma Military Police have always dealt with them. In this matter, however, there is another disability for Burma. India has to make the best possible use of every penny she can afford for her army, and every penny she can afford she spends upon the North-West Frontier. Naturally, I don't complain, but I could not even get the Government of India to build me a lateral road behind our land frontier so that we could run our police by motor lorry from one point to another instead of letting them go by ponies. Whenever I put the matter up I was always told that there was no money to spare for the defence of the Burma frontier. I believe that Burma would be better off if she had the defence of her land frontier in her own hands. If there were a large-scale invasion from China, Burma would have to rely on the British Government. But remember that the roads in China end at Yunnanfu, which is some 250 miles from Bhamo, so that a long period of preparation would be necessary before any serious attack could take place, and we should have ample notice.

As regards Siam, it is, of course, possible, as suggested by Sir Louis Dane, that there may be Communist trouble there, though I hope not, and if there is it may affect Burma. But the frontier is not an easy one, and we never have had any trouble with Siam. On the contrary, no nation could ever have had a better or more reasonable neighbour than Siam. Any small disputes we have had with her we have settled most amicably.

Surely it is not possible for us to say to the Burmans, "It is true that there has been no trouble with China or Siam for the last 150 years, but there may be trouble in the future, and therefore we cannot agree to separation." That is not a practicable line to take.

I entirely agree with Mr. Leach as to the importance of a proper trade agreement with India, but I must at once express my disagreement with

Sir Louis Dane's suggestion that the trade agreement should be embodied in the Constitution Act, and that neither the Government of India nor Burma should be able to modify that agreement for fifteen years. If you are going to start the new Governments of India and Burma in that way, saying, "We cannot trust you to take a reasonable view," you may as well drop the whole idea of the new Constitutions. It seems to me that the only possible line for us to take is to assume that both the Government of India and that of Burma will try to make use of new powers that are going to be conferred on them in a reasonable way. If we do not trust them, we cannot expect them to use those powers in a reasonable way. You might start them with a trade agreement, but they must have power to modify the agreement after due notice.

Nor do I believe it to be possible to have an agreement which would ensure the same freedom of trade as now exists between the two countries. India has gone in for a policy of protection and imposes high protective duties on many articles. On some textiles her duties until recently were as high as 75 per cent. *ad valorem*. As I have pointed out, Burma's interests lie in the direction of light revenue duties. India would have to take precautions to prevent foreign goods finding their way into India through Burma without paying the full Indian duties. Also one has to look at the Indian point of view. The separation of Burma is going to cost India some Rs. 3 crores a year. India must make up that loss of revenue in some way, and as I see it there are bound to be some duties on goods exchanged between the two countries. What I hope is that a carefully considered trade agreement will be made between the two countries. It ought not to be a very difficult matter. Burma's exports to India consist almost entirely of mineral oils, rice, and teak. The excise duties on petrol and kerosine are already equal or nearly equal to the import duties, and the question for Burma is very largely what concessions she can get on her rice and teak, and possibly kerosine and lubricating oils. It would, of course, be a serious thing for Burma if India put an import duty on her rice, but I agree with Mr. Leach that the danger is not a very serious one. India is very thickly populated, and her population is increasing faster than her food supply. Since the war she has ceased to be a net exporter of foodstuffs, and has become a net importer. She must import foodstuffs to supplement her own supplies, and I do not think that there is much danger of an import duty on rice. Nevertheless, I do attach the greatest importance to a very favourable trade agreement between the two countries.

Mr. Leach has dealt with most of the points Mr. Nissim made, but I should like to assure Mr. Nissim that he was under a complete misapprehension when he suggested that in all these matters the interests of the Indian had not been considered. We have taken the very greatest account of the interests of the Indian. I believe myself that the position of the Indian in Burma after separation will be very much stronger than now.

Mr. Nissim was wrong, I think, in saying that the question of Federation has made all the difference. A great part of my paper was devoted to showing that the interests of Indians and Burmans are different; their customs, traditions, and aspirations are entirely different. I am certain that

the right thing both for India and Burma is to part, and I hope that they will part friends. Every educated Burman wants separation. Let the two countries now part in a quiet, friendly way, and I am sure that will be the best course for both of them.

The MAHARAJA OF BURDWAN : I am sure that you desire to pass a vote of thanks to Sir Charles Innes for his very interesting paper on "The Future of Burma," as well as to my friend Sir Robert Horne for having taken the chair at this meeting. I am not going to express my opinion about the future of Burma. All I wish to say in this connection is that the sooner the future Constitutions of both India and Burma are settled, the better for both countries.

I sincerely hope that you will carry with acclamation this vote of thanks to Sir Charles Innes and Sir Robert Horne for their services this afternoon.
(Applause.)

DUTCH POLICY IN THE EAST INDIES

By DR. A. NEIJTEZELL DE WILDE

(Ex-President of the Volksraad in the Netherland East Indies, Member of the Institut Colonial International)

I WISH to express my best thanks for the invitation to lecture to your Association in my capacity as ex-president of the Volksraad and also as a member of "l'Institut Colonial International" at Brussels. I highly appreciate the honour of the chairmanship of the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India and the presence of so many authorities on British Indian affairs. It is also gratifying to me to have here this afternoon his Excellency the Minister of the Netherlands in London.

It was suggested that I should compare Netherland India with British India. I have occasionally done so, but that with great caution; in the first place, because my knowledge of British India has been acquired only through books, and, in the second place, because, according to the tradition and good custom of your Association, the time allowed to me for my lecture is limited.

The members of your Association are thoroughly acquainted with Indian affairs, as is shown from your Proceedings in the ASIATIC REVIEW. Not long since an excellent lecture was given at The Hague on "Indian Constitutional Reform," by Sir John Thompson, a member of your Council. I hope that in my exposition of the evolution and administration of the Dutch East Indies you will find sufficient points of contact, so that you yourselves can make comparisons with the same processes in British India.

The Dutch East Indies are inhabited by most divergent races and peoples. The legal division into Europeans, foreign Orientals, and natives only gives a very superficial insight into the actual composition of the population, since within these groups there is no question of homogeneity.

In Java and Madura there were in 1930 about 210,000 Europeans. In the other islands 48,700.

There were 1,232,000 Chinese and 110,000 other foreign Orientals. Natives 40,800,000 in Java and 18,200,000 in the other islands, together 59,000,000. As to races, the native tribes can be divided into Malays in the west and Papuans in the extreme east of the Archipelago.

The island of Java is populated in the west by the Sundanese, in the middle by the Javanese, while the eastern part of the island is inhabited for the greater part by Madurese, who have emigrated from the island of Madura. The three races of the island are entirely different in language and character.

The importance of the European community for the Archipelago and the part which their activity, capital and energy, their technical and organizing capacities have played in the development of these islands are well known.

The population of the Dutch East Indies, which on December 31, 1931, totalled 69,700,000, is very unevenly distributed over the various districts of the Archipelago. In Java and Madura there are no fewer than 41,700,000 persons, representing an average density of about 309 per square kilometre. The danger of overpopulation is more and more threatening. In the typical rice-producing areas of Java there are regions where the density reaches from 500 to 600 persons per square kilometre. The Outer Islands provide a striking contrast. With a total population of 19,000,000, the average density is only about 10·33 per square kilometre.

When we speak of the Dutch East Indies, we generally think of them in their present state—a political unity built up by the Netherland Government and containing the whole of the Indian Archipelago—a well-regulated, vast empire containing some 60 million inhabitants. We must not forget, however, that this unity, especially with regard to the outer islands, has only been established of late years. It was scattered territory that was given back to Holland by the English Government in 1816, and previously had been acquired by Holland from the United East India Company. This was first and foremost a trading concern. Its principal object was to secure a commercial footing here and there, and not the founding of a state or an empire.

A Javanese demagogue addressing the crowd likes to speak about the "golden" days which preceded three centuries of Western domination.

But the Javanese themselves in those "golden" days said resignedly: "*Nek awan doeweke sang noto, nek bengi doeweke doersilo*" ("In the daytime our possessions are the property of our rulers, in the night all that is ours is the property of the criminals"). An absolute despotism, an unmistakable tyranny ruled in the many little Hindu and Muhammadan states of those days. The greed of the all-powerful chieftains and their agents was checked only by their fear of losing their subjects by emigration. Thus the allegation, made by native leaders, that on the arrival of Europeans in the East there was a change for the worse, is without foundation.

The fact is that the Europeans brought to the East the traditional colonial exploitation policy. Following in the footsteps of the Portuguese, the United East India Company rigorously excluded all foreign traders from their territory and secured as much of the inland trade as possible. By the standard of those days this was quite justifiable. Of the United East India Company, a well-known English writer of the time, John Harris, wrote in his book, which was published in London in 1764, entitled, *Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca, or a Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels*:

"There is something so commendable in the Dutch, that I cannot forbear speaking of it. The common phrase for Holland in all their Colonies, is Fatherland, which is an expression so pathetic, so full of true patriotism, and so expressive of filial affection, that we may from thence discern the true use of Colonies, which is: *to feed and support the Country, from whence they are derived*. In this respect we excel the Spaniards, and the Dutch excel us, for there is a conformity between the interest of that State and of all her plantations, which is discerned no where else, and which is the true source of the mighty power and immense wealth of that flourishing Republick."

EARLY POLICY

Indeed in those early days it was the usual thing to get from the colonies anything that might be of use or yield some profit to the mother country. The East India Company did not act other-

wise. It adhered to its monopoly in face of the increasing rivalry of the French and English navigators and traders. This was a prominent cause of the Company's fall. Other causes were faulty bookkeeping and insufficient pay to the functionaries with consequent corruption. The waves of the French Revolution finally washed away the United East India Company and the colonies became the property of the Government.

If the times had not been so unfavourable the "Bataafsche Republiek" would have acted in a far more liberal way than had been known before. The Governor-General sent to India under French inspiration the Marshal Daendels, who strove to act in that direction, though he mostly followed the arbitrary methods of the "*ancien régime*."

In the Napoleonic period when the English managed the colonies the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Stamford Raffles, of whom my own grandfather was a great friend, followed the same system as Daendels, but in a more refined way. So did the "Commissarissen-Generaal" (delegates), who were sent out by King Willem I. to the Indies to take over the colonies from the English. Corruption was stopped, the administration of justice improved in the case of natives as well as Europeans, slavery and opium smuggling were checked. The system of "land-rent" of Raffles took the place of the compulsory cultivation and the contingent system of the United East India Company and gave back to the native farmer the right to dispose of his toil and the fruit of his labour. Trade was free and European private enterprise was allowed to participate in non-native agriculture. Liberalism, as contrasted with the system of the United East India Company, revealed the importance of well-regulated internal administration as a means to a prosperous population.

The system was not to last long. What the Government had omitted to consider was the fact that the simple native farmers were unable to help themselves without guidance and instructions, now that the pressure under which they had worked for such a long time had been taken away. That is why the new policy was of no use to them. Besides, the new liberal ideas were not yet strong enough to maintain themselves against the growth of

reaction. This reaction, beginning in Europe in Napoleon's reign, soon caused the colonies to slide back to their previous state.

Moreover, the very bad condition of colonial and home finances required a "quick acting" remedy. This the liberal system could not give, for it could only improve the state of affairs gradually; but the system developed by the Governor-General Van den Bosch, the compulsory "cultivation system," could bring a remedy almost at once. No wonder that the Government restored this system.

In those days the method of application was not objectionable. But this profitable State production was forced up in order to improve the desperate finances of the motherland and colonies. Hence cultivation deteriorated into a continuation of the contingent system of the United East India Company, and in the end there was a primitive form of monopolized State exploitation, the risk of which was for the greater part shifted on to the native farmer himself. It took some fifty years longer before a feeble movement from a group of philosophers towards the end of the eighteenth century was shaped into a purposeful liberal colonial policy. England and France had already trodden that path. After 1850 those liberal principles were also applied more and more in the administration of the colonies by the Netherlands.

NEW AGRARIAN POLICY

When at last under pressure of the Netherland Legislative Assembly in 1870 the system of Van den Bosch was abrogated, a decisive turning-point in our colonial policy was reached. The more human policy of liberalism for the colonies, which people of our day can understand and appreciate, was definitely established. The new agrarian legislation of 1870 scrupulously guarded against dispossession of the land rights of native farmers. By converting the compulsory cultivations (of Van den Bosch) into free cultivations and creating the possibility of reclaiming waste lands on a large scale the way was prepared for the European industrialist to grow tropical produce for international commerce. "Free trade" and the "open door" were the policies pursued from that time onwards. Thanks to this the possibilities for economic expansion were opened at least for Java, which in

the meantime had been brought entirely under Dutch authority (Java War).

In the outer islands the economic expansion had to be preceded by the "territorial expansion," which constituted the establishment of Dutch authority. The "political expansion" was to follow later. As has been said above, at the termination of the English era in 1816 Holland received back a scattered and divided territory. The revolt in Saparoea, the Palembang quarrels, the Padri wars in the Padang highlands (1817, 1819-24, 1834-37), compelled Holland again and again to intervene, and led to considerable expansion of her authority, especially in Sumatra.

Another fact to consider was the exchange of territory with England, Holland's colonial neighbour, through the Treaty of London, by which Holland gave up all her claims to colonies on or very near the continent of Asia (Malacca, Singapore) in return for possession of Benkoelen and Banka.

The policy of inactivity practised in those days in regard to the outer islands yielded little or no gain. It was only when, in 1840, James Brooke saw his chance to found the State of Sarawak, in Borneo, that further interference was feared, and from that time more attention was paid to the outer islands. Several expeditions were necessary to subdue rebellious rulers and tribes and to put an end to the peculiarly non-Western political ideas of the native rulers with regard to their subjects. Moreover, in dealing with the Achinese, who were smugglers and pirates, Holland's hands were tied by the London treaty of 1824.

In the meantime the Suez Canal had been opened in 1869, and in consequence the trade route from Europe to Eastern Asia was removed to pass along North Sumatra. In 1868 Atjeh had already invoked the help of Turkey against Holland, who feared more foreign interference.

EVENTUAL UNITY

The Sumatra treaty with England of 1871 gave Holland the liberty of action that she so much desired. A year later she declared war upon Atjeh. This war was to drag on for twenty years and was only ended by complete subjection through the

vigorous intervention of the military commander of that time, Van Heutz, who later on was appointed Governor-General.

This success led to the ambitious plan of making Dutch authority recognized *de facto* everywhere on the outer islands, whether by the introduction of direct government or by making the self-governing princes and chieftains sign so-called "Succinct Treaties," which made them totally dependent on the Netherland Government. So it was that only in the last thirty to forty years a unity was built up out of the divided possession of the Company and the territory Holland received back from the English in 1816.

As has been seen the establishment of the unity of the Netherland colonies dates from the time of the United East India Company, though the few centres of authority maintained by that trading company did not expand in that way. This result was only brought about by the modern colonial policy, which abolished local disorder and the despotism of the native rulers and inaugurated an era of peace and safety, thus creating the possibility of further economic development also for the native population.

Forced cultivation marked the beginning of State exploitation, which was terminated by the general abolition of the system in 1870. Then arrived the time for the so-called "industrial exploitation" of the East India possessions by Dutch capital and later on by foreign capital.

EUROPEAN CAPITAL

This economic expansion was accompanied by a considerable investment of capital in the European agricultural estates which came, especially after the world war, not only from the Netherlands but from foreign countries also. Thus it came about that in 1929 about one and a half milliard guilders* were invested, more than one milliard of which was Dutch capital. In 1913 as much as 200 million guilders were invested; half of this was Dutch capital, for Sumatra's eastern coastlands, originally the tobacco-land *par excellence*, and later also used for other plantations (rubber, tea, oil-palm). In 1929 it had increased to 640

* One guilder is equivalent to one shilling and eightpence at par.

million guilders, 56 per cent. being Dutch, 19 per cent. British, 11 per cent. Franco-Belgian, 8 per cent. American, and 2 per cent. Japanese capital. From 1925 to 1929 at least 400 million guilders more were invested in the Netherland Indies, especially in Sumatra, in rubber and tea. The process of capital investment was stopped only by the present world crisis. If we add to this invested capital the sums invested in oil and other mining industries, in shipping and railways, banking, and other companies, the total investment of capital in the Indies before the crisis may be estimated at about 4 milliard guilders, one-third of which was non-Dutch.

Undoubtedly the open-door policy led the way to this unprecedented investment of capital which became the powerful lever which, in the last years before the crisis, raised the Netherland Indies from a purely national domain into an international centre of tropical produce for the world market. For in 1928 the East Indies share in world exports was, in the case of rubber, 35 per cent.; for other commodities the percentages were: sugar, 11; coffee, 8; tea, 17; Peru bark, 93; coconut, 30; palm oil, 4; agava, 19; cocoa, 58; kapok, 79; and pepper, 70.

The enormous prosperity of the Netherland Indies was accompanied by a blending of Western capital, intellect, and enterprise with native landed property, native supply of materials, and native labour.

AMELIORATIVE EFFORTS

During the period of the industrial exploitation of the Netherland Indies, when progress was noticeable everywhere, some liberal leaders (Van Deventer and others) were of the opinion that the natives in their socially backward state did not have an adequate share in this prosperity.

From the experiences after the times of the United East India Company and compulsory cultivation we had learnt that without the co-operation of the inhabitants themselves nothing was to be attained. So the education of the people had to be raised to a higher plane. "Irrigation, emigration, education," were the watchwords of Van Deventer; and he secured a ready hearing from the Government. To a considerable extent, however, it was the

economic revival that provided the Government with the means to take the comprehensive and very costly measures in the economic and social field which were then adopted in the interests of the native population. A gigantic effort was made to stir the native to a new life and improve his material condition. Very gratifying results have been obtained in the matter of the general education of the people, the system of loans, agricultural instruction, irrigation, etc.

This was an undertaking of great consequence, though some thought it necessary to utter a warning. Especially in regard to education they were doubtful whether the right way had been chosen, or whether, as in British India, there would not be too many educated and, still worse, too many half-educated people, unable to find employment and only forming a literate proletariat, ready to swell the ranks of national revolutionaries or extremists.

In the meantime the Orient had awakened. Speaking in his picturesquc Oriental language, a native chieftain said : "The coco-trees, which grow in the small tropical islands, came out of the seeds conveyed by the ocean currents or dropped from them by the birds coming from distant regions. And it has been exactly the same with the ideas from the West."

The radical changes in Western lands caused by socio-political evolution during the latter half of last century, which kept them in a constant state of commotion, have no doubt strongly influenced the awakening of the Orient. And consequently a remarkable change has been brought about in the relations between Asia and Europe. The Asiatic movement was late in penetrating into the Dutch Indies, but of late years the same symptoms have shown themselves there as elsewhere in that continent.

THE RISE OF NATIONALISM

It began with a certain unrest among the Chinese, followed by the so-called native movement. About 1908 a national uplift movement arose among the higher classes of the native population of Java. It was soon followed by a rapidly growing Muhammadan movement embracing also the middle and lower classes of the population, adherents of the doctrines of the Prophet. That

movement, however, became less intense. A Communist movement introduced into the Dutch Indies by Europeans influenced especially the trade union movement and caused much trouble at first through strikes and repeated clashes with the authorities. In 1926 and 1927, after the riots in Western Java and on the west coast of Sumatra, this movement was suppressed.

Since 1927 a distinct native nationality movement has sprung up, partly inspired by the non-co-operation idea. Without wishing to thwart the normal and sound ideas in this movement, the Government has often been obliged to take measures against it in order to prevent excesses, and to keep the movement in normal channels. The Government must still be on the alert. Its spokesman used a classical illustration in the People's Council :

"Phaeton, the young, still inexperienced son of the Sun God, was, through the fateful carelessness of his father, the Sun King Helios, allowed to hold the reins of the restive horses in the chariot of the Sun God for a few hours only. He was killed in his wild career, and through his recklessness a great part of the earth was destroyed."

We have seen that Java since 1870, and the outer islands since the beginning of this century, had enjoyed a period of enormous economic prosperity, and that the whole population had shared in it. It had also been a period of extraordinary political activity. But the extension of political rights had not yet begun. Even in the beginning of this century the Governor-General, as the representative of the King in the Netherland Indies, was alone responsible for the policy to be followed in governing the country. His orders were carried out throughout the whole country by an army of European and native officials, who had to execute only the commands of the Government. The inhabitants had no voice in the administration.

Chailly, a well-known French writer on colonial affairs, described this situation very well when he called Java "le paradis des fonctionnaires." Locally there was a certain autonomy of the "desa," but for the rest there was only a strong centralization and a powerful officialdom. Though after 1854 and more and more after 1867 the administration of the East Indies was controlled by the Dutch Parliament, in the East Indies themselves

the population had no say in public affairs. On the contrary, the Netherland East Indian Government Act of 1854 simply forbade unions and meetings of a political nature. An expert on colonial systems has declared that no other home Parliament paid so much attention to colonial matters as the Dutch, but that on the other hand Netherland India had become one of the few colonies where matters of general importance could not be regularly discussed in public sittings.

DECENTRALIZATION

It was only in 1903 that decentralization on a small scale was introduced. Then a beginning was made with the Government permitting unions and political meetings, especially with the object of recommending people for membership to the local councils. It was not until 1915 that political meetings were actually permitted, but they were subject to many restrictions appertaining to public safety and general security.

The growing development of the country and the innumerable new problems that the awakening of the Orient brought with them caused the Government to become more and more overburdened in all their duties which were strongly centralized. They began to feel that the effective promotion of local interests was beyond their powers. It became desirable and urgently necessary to hand over the care of local interests to independent local authorities with an independent budget.

The first example of decentralization in the Indies was that the provinces were governed by councils. These, however, did not come up to expectation, because the inhabitants had not sufficient influence on the constitution of the councils and because the sums granted from the budget of the Government were insufficient. In some instances in the provinces, however, and in the towns decentralization was more successful.

The new Act of 1922 for local administration largely extended the scope of decentralization. This Act contains regulations for the formation of larger provinces, which have a council and to a certain degree are self-governing; these provinces are now divided into a large number of "divisions." The official who, as a representative of the Central Government, is at the head of a divi-

sion, is now called a "resident," and is assisted by "assistant residents." They all are subordinate to the Governor of the Province.

In many respects, especially in Java and Madoera, the work of the officials differs from that under the former régime. In the first place, the whole province is now divided into self-governing units, these being either municipalities or regencies under the jurisdiction of their respective "councils." In the second place, simultaneously with the reorganization of provincial and local administration, the policy is being extended of investing native officials with responsibility. In the outer islands the new Act for local administration has not yet come into force for financial reasons. There only a few local bodies were called into being and are still based on the Local Councils Ordinance of 1905.

THE VOLKSRAAD

It was realized that, owing to the rapid rate of development, a central representative body could not be dispensed with any longer, and accordingly the first Volksraad (People's Council) was opened by the Governor-General on May 21, 1918. The idea of a representative body for Netherland India had dated back to 1893. At that time it was confined to a proposal to reorganize the Council of the Indies. This body, consisting of a vice-president and four members, all appointed by the King, was as such the adviser of the Governor-General in all important matters of State and shared with him the responsibility of making laws. In 1893 it was proposed to reorganize and enlarge this body. "Extraordinary" members, including several persons acting in their private capacity, were to be added.

The Bill providing for this reorganization did not, however, eventuate. It was not until thirteen years later that the scheme for a representative body for Netherland Indies was proposed and the extension of the Council was again considered.

In 1913 determined steps were taken with regard to the inauguration in Netherland Indies of a body of a representative character, the Colonial Council standing next to the Council of the Indies, and being entrusted with a special rôle. Owing to

the fall of the Ministry this Bill was not introduced, but was followed by a new one, practically on the same lines. This measure finally led to the inauguration of the Volksraad, which was constituted in the year 1918. In this way the strict centralization of government and the domination of the high officials were abolished. It was thus expressed at the time: Indian matters were to be removed from musty offices into the "fresh air of publicity."

In the beginning the Volksraad was a purely advisory body, but as the budget was discussed, the opportunity came to acquire a great influence on all the affairs of the Netherland Indies. The number of members was originally fixed at thirty-nine. The president was to be appointed by the King and not more than half the members were to be appointed by the Governor-General, and again one-fourth of them had to be natives. Half of the other members likewise had to be natives. All these members were to be elected by the local councils.

CONSTITUTION ACT

The Constitution Act of 1922 was intended, in accordance with modern conceptions, to transfer part of the authority of the mother country to the Indies as has been done in British India. Taken with the Netherland East Indian Government Act of 1925, which is based on the Constitution Act of 1922, these laws constitute a very important degree of self-government in the Netherland East Indies. Thus the legislative power of the Crown was limited, the Governor-General's Council being reduced to a purely advisory body. On the other hand the Volksraad was changed from an advisory into a legislative body, the assent of which is required for all ordinances presented by the Governor-General. The annual general budget is drawn up by the Governor-General after consultation with the Volksraad. Moreover, the Volksraad possesses the right to amend bills and the power of initiative, to petition the King and the States-General, to interpellate the Government, also to advise on Bills moved in the States-General and Orders in Council directly or in a considerable degree affecting the Netherland East Indies.

Since 1929 the Volksraad has consisted of thirty native members, a minimum of twenty-five European members, and from three to five Oriental subjects, who are partly elected and partly appointed by the Governor-General. Including the president, there are sixty-one members.

As the Volksraad has only two meetings a year, mainly to deal with the annual general budget, its legislative powers are generally used by "the Committee of Delegates," consisting of twenty-one members, including the President of the Volksraad. The Legislative Assembly may reserve any ordinance moved by the Governor-General, but it is obvious that, owing to the short duration of the usual sessions of the Legislative Assembly, it is the Committee of Delegates that, as a rule, has to assent to the ordinances that have been passed.

There is close contact with the motherland. Thus the Dutch Legislature supervises the laws passed by the Netherland East Indies Legislature, apart from its authority in general to regulate all subjects. The Crown is empowered to suspend ordinances made by the Netherland East Indies Legislature if, in its opinion, they conflict with higher statutes or go against public policy. Such ordinances may be annulled by an act of the Dutch Legislature. In the same way the Crown has the power to veto the regulations of the Governor-General. And the eleven individual estimates of the annual general budget, though settled by the Governor-General in consultation with the Volksraad, are afterwards submitted for approval to the Legislature in Holland.

And finally with regard to executive power, and especially the policy to be pursued, the Crown can give "instructions" to the Governor-General, according to the stipulations of the Netherland East Indies Government Act, and he has to obey them.

INFLUENCE OF THE CHAMBER

The Volksraad is not what is generally termed a "parliament." In the first place, the Governor-General is not responsible to this body, but only to the Crown and to the Minister of the Colonies at The Hague. Neither are the representatives of the Governor-General, who speak for him in the Volksraad, responsible thereto.

Nor is it possible for representatives of political parties to take over the reins from the Government when differences of opinion arise with the authorities in office. On the other hand, the Government has no power to dissolve the Volksraad.

At the time of the inauguration of the Volksraad in 1918, many people were of the opinion that the time had not yet come to constitute an Indian People's Chamber, but the experience of 15 years has fully justified its existence. Rigid centralization and the domination of officialdom has been broken. In the opinion of many the Council had made itself useful, if not indispensable, as a safety-valve, as a compass, as a source of information on the currents of opinion among the various groups of the population, and as bringing about a closer contact of the Government and the people. Through the Council of Delegates the contact between the Government and the Volksraad has become closer and public opinion can make itself heard all the year round.

Since the time the Volksraad was instituted there have been remarkable changes in the various parties represented in it. In the beginning there was an association of various groups of the population owing allegiance to the party. Afterwards the groups of the parties became more and more separated on racial lines. But the political complexion of each group is not very distinct as yet; as a rule, it has been possible for the Government to collaborate with the Volksraad in the interest of all, as has often been shown during these last critical years.

THE ECONOMIC DEPRESSION

In the meantime the world crisis has affected the Dutch East Indies, chiefly the large western plantations, which have always been influenced by world conditions. This was also the case with the native plantations to the extent to which they yielded crops for the world market. Owing to the enormous fall in prices caused by high tariff walls, quotas and other impediments to trade in other countries (especially in British India) the export of tropical products has almost ceased to be profitable.

The co-operation between Western capital and Eastern labour

has been greatly reduced. Numerous plantations have gone out of cultivation. Restrictions have been applied to plantations and mines, and Europeans as well as natives have been dismissed on a large scale in consequence. In this way the great European estates tried to accommodate themselves to the difficult times, but unemployment on an unprecedented scale has resulted. Also in the case of native plantations, this adjustment took place in most instances by stopping the cultivation of crops for export (e.g., rubber and copra) and resuming again the cultivation of food crops. Thanks to a succession of plentiful food crops during the last few years, the natives can generally command sufficient sources of income. The shortage of cash, however, has been aggravated, and the other savings of the population such as gold coins and trinkets have become exhausted. The system of barter has revived. The economic balance is unstable. The native himself characterizes the situation by saying, "*Larang doewit moerah pangang*" ("Short of cash but we have cheap food").

Naturally, this situation is a constant cause of anxiety to the Government. There is a regular survey of the state of the crops all over the Archipelago with a view to affording immediate help wherever there has been a poor harvest. Already, in normal circumstances, and how much more so in these days of crisis, the food problem was a very difficult one in Java on account of the enormous increase of the population. The density of the native population per square kilometre increased from 123 in 1870 to 309 in 1930.

PRESSURE ON THE SOIL

The problem of over-population in Java is one of the most difficult questions which the Netherland Indies Government has to face. Even today there is only a very limited area available for the extension of native agriculture, and within a short time this will be completely exhausted. In the densely populated areas there are already many who cannot find a livelihood in agriculture and who found themselves forced to work on European estates to supplement their income. Where, however, there is only a small patch of soil available for the extension of the

estate-cultivations, these possibilities are also very limited. Moreover, many plantations have been closed, and labour possibilities have been reduced. The importance of the steps which the Government is taking to increase the productivity of native agriculture is evident.

Many hope also for a rapid development of the factory system on Western lines as a means of giving new opportunities for the surplus population. Although the advantages of a greater industrialization of the Netherland East Indies cannot be denied, and although a course of development of this kind is occupying the attention of the Government, the heavy foreign competition, the low purchasing power of the home market, the large capital that would be required, and finally the lack of skilled labour, are formidable obstacles to a rapid solution along these lines.

Attention has been repeatedly drawn to the benefit that would result from the emigration of Javanese to the thinly populated districts of the outer islands. Steps to this end have also been taken by the Government. Although the attempts at colonization as such have been a complete success, they naturally work too slowly to relieve to any appreciable extent the pressure of the population on the soil of Java. In spite of all the efforts of the Government—*e.g.*, for scientific improvement of produce, etc.—the welfare of the native population has not been noticeably raised, for higher productivity is counterbalanced by the increase in the population. But what would the situation now be if the Government had not taken all these measures? The Exchequer, which is dependent on the prosperity of the large European plantations, has also been enormously affected by the crisis. By economizing whenever and wherever possible, and dismissing officials on a large scale, by establishing various emergency taxes and measures, the Government has tried to redress the balance, though up to now these sacrifices have not been successful, notwithstanding considerable financial sacrifices by the mother-land. It is expected, however, that in 1935 the budget will be balanced.

CONCLUSION

The emergency measures taken by Government are intended to support industry and prevent unwanted imports and dumping. Thus we have been forced to deviate from the old liberal policy of "free trade" and the policy of the "open door" which, since 1872, have so strongly contributed to the welfare of the Netherland Indies and have made them an economic centre of international importance. For the Netherland Indies, as much as for other countries, the future is still very unsettled, because it is closely bound up with the course of the world crisis.

In these difficult times much tact, great ability, and ceaseless vigilance should characterize Government. Since the Great War the ties with the West have been loosened and our natural relations with the Pacific have become more intimate. In consequence, the slogan "Asia for the Asiatics" is significant. Asiatic people overlook the incontrovertible fact that during the last fifty years, apart from economic development, the West has brought to the East certain tangible benefits such as security, control of food-supply, public health, social service, hygiene, higher education, impartial justice, and honest rule. In this respect I believe that, like the British in India, the Dutch people have performed a great and useful task in the East Indies.

At present the ship of State there is encountering dangerous economic and political currents, which are the direct result of the world crisis. It has been proved that the liberal economic course followed since 1870 is no longer practicable in every respect in view of the uncertainty of the future. I think the captain of the ship will not hesitate, if need be, to turn the helm in time and steer a new course until safe waters have been reached.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, January 30, 1934, when a paper, illustrated by lantern views, entitled "Dutch Policy in the East Indies," was read by Dr. A. Neijtzell de Wilde (ex-President of the Volksraad in the Netherland East Indies). The Right Hon. Sir Samuel Hoare, G.C.S.I., G.B.E., C.M.G., M.P., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., and Lady Lamington, His Excellency the Netherland Minister in London, Sir John Kerr, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., the Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., and Lady Dane, Sir John Thompson, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir Hubert Carr, Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Henry Wheeler, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Henry S. Lawrence, K.C.S.I., Sir W. Ross Barker, K.C.I.E., C.B., Sir Duncan Macpherson, C.I.E., Lady Scott Moncrieff, Madame Neijtzell de Wilde, Lady Walker, Lady Abba, Ali Baig, Mrs. Weir, Mr. F. G. Pratt, C.S.I., Mr. H. M. R. Hopkins, C.S.I., Mr. John Ross, I.S.O., Mr. V. Boalthe, C.B.E., Lieut.-Colonel W. G. Neale, C.I.E., and Mrs. Neale, Professor John Coatman, C.I.E., Mr. O. Gruzelier, M.V.O., Mr. E. E. Long, C.B.E., Professor P. Geyl, Professor H. G. Rawlinson, C.I.F., Professor J. E. G. de Montmorency, Bishop Eyer Chatterton and Mrs. Chatterton, Mr. Stanley Rice, Mr. P. K. Dutt, Mr. John de La Valette, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. Frank Beresford, Mr. A. Sabonadière, Mr. W. D. Croft, Mouli A. R. Dard, Mr. M. Y. Arif, Mr. C. M. Morrell, Mr. J. Sladen, Swami B. H. Bon, Mr. Joseph Nissim, Rev. R. Burges, Mrs. R. M. Gray, Mrs. Rothfield, Mr. H. M. Willmott, Mr. and Mrs. R. K. Nolan, Mr. C. A. Mehta, Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. C. R. Corbett, Mr. C. E. Veale, Mr. W. T. Lloyd, Mrs. Barns, Mrs. C. Alexander, Mr. M. Wynand Wolff, Mr. E. E. Miller, Swami Purohit, Mrs. G. Foden, Mr. J. P. Fletcher, Mr. J. F. C. Marshall, Lieut.-Colonel G. E. Grimsdale, Mr. A. G. Pawar, Mr. H. Westers, Mr. A. B. Kreule, Mrs. N. B. Dewar, Miss Macdonald, Mr. H. K. Sadler, Mr. C. Mott-Radcliffe, Mr. F. B. s'Jacob, Mr. J. Cost Budde, Mr. E. C. Wrench, Capt. and Mrs. Freeland, Capt. Marshall, Miss Emily Coleman, Mr. E. Chadwick, Mrs. Lawrie, Mr. John Ruys, Rev. C. C. Clump, S.J., Dr. Demisch, Mr. F. van Inglen, Mr. and Mrs. A. G. Morkill, Mr. J. H. de Koningk, Mr. and Mrs. Koolhoven, Mr. Th. de Meester, Miss Thorpe, Mr. R. Van Stuwe, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN said: I am delighted to welcome our distinguished guest from Holland, Dr. A. Neijtzell de Wilde. Dr. Neijtzell de Wilde is not only a representative of a country with which we have been in the closest association for centuries, but he has served with great distinction in the Dutch East Indies and now occupies a responsible post in the Ministry of the Colonies in Holland. The Government of the Netherlands in those

great East Indian islands and we on the great Indian subcontinent are both faced with much the same problems, the overmastering problem, for instance, of the relations of the East and the West, of Asia and Europe, of peoples in both continents living in worlds that invention, discovery, and war have revolutionized before our very eyes; the problem, again, of economic depression, with its disastrous effects upon communities that live by the production of primary commodities. To what he has to tell us upon these vital questions, as Secretary of State for India I shall listen with the greatest interest. May I also add, as one who was for many years Secretary of State for Air and who was responsible for the air route to India, I shall listen with scarcely less interest to anything that he may say about the means of communication between East and West, and particularly about that great Dutch air line that for speed, regularity, and safety has scarcely a rival in the world.

For more than three centuries the roads of our two Empires have crossed. Within two years of each other the English and the Dutch East India Companies began their careers as keen competitors and often as deadly rivals. At first they both concentrated upon the same territory, the Spice Islands in the Malay Archipelago. Clash after clash took place between them in their quest for pepper and spices. But as time went on they began to realize that there was Eastern trade in plenty for both countries, and that the better course was to leave the islands to the Dutch and the mainland to the British. Although, however, this was the general course of our respective development, there were startling vicissitudes that now and again threatened a renewal of the old battles.

Then, as now, it was impossible to isolate Eastern trade from European politics. When, therefore, Napoleon annexed Holland and attempted to turn the Dutch East Indies into a base against England in the east, Java and Sumatra were brought into the main current of world politics. It was then that there emerged one of the three great builders of our Eastern Empire. In the romantic and adventurous life of Clive, the British world has already taken a keen interest—an interest that I greatly hope will be stimulated by the excellent play that has recently been produced. As to Warren Hastings, the more I study Indian affairs the more certain I am that he was the greatest Indian administrator that this country has ever produced.

As to the third of this great triumvirate, Stamford Raffles, the world at large is only now beginning to realize the brilliance of his work, the attraction of his character, and the magnitude of the difficulties with which he was faced. The son of an unknown ship's captain, with no influence behind him and no money in his pocket, he became an extra clerk in the office of the East India Company at the age of fourteen. By the age of forty-three he was retired, and, as he described himself, "a little old man, all yellow and shrivelled, with his hair pretty well blanched," having won three empires for the British Crown. It was he who first realized the great wealth and importance of Java. It was he who induced Lord Minto, the Governor-General of Bengal, to support him in its annexation. "On the mention of Java," Raffles wrote years afterwards, "his Lordship cast a look

of such scrutiny, anticipation, and kindness upon me that I shall never forget. 'Yes,' he said, 'Java is an interesting island. I shall be happy to receive any information you can give me concerning it.'"

It was he who, when forced to return Java to the restored kingdom of Holland, fell back upon Sumatra. Here again he had to yield to the persistent pressure of our Dutch friends, who not unnaturally demanded the restoration of their colony, and to face the suspicious and obstructive ignorance of his superiors in the East India Company. Twice foiled in his determined efforts, he fell back by a stroke of genius upon the mainland of Malaya; and today, though the details of his career may be often forgotten, Singapore, one of the great and cardinal ports of the world, stands as the perpetual memorial of his vision, his knowledge, and his genius.

Our guest today will pardon this reference to one of our own Empire builders. Indeed, our Dutch friends, once his determined enemies, have themselves paid many a tribute to the wisdom of his administration. Further, if I mistake not, they have themselves made increasing use of the wise economic and social policy to which he was so constantly devoted. Moreover, he and they have this common bond. He and they, whilst the rest of England and Europe were wrangling about much that did not matter, realized that the great islands of Java and Sumatra and the Archipelago that lies beyond them are amongst the richest and most important territories of the world.

Tonight we are here to learn more of their problems and their prospects. May our Dutch friends succeed in keeping them happy and prosperous. May they follow our fortunes in India with the same sympathy with which we follow theirs in the East Indian islands, and may they play their part in our common endeavour to reconcile the aspirations of the East and the West. (Loud cheers.)

(Dr. de Wilde then delivered his lecture, which was illustrated by lantern views.)

H.E. the NETHERLANDS MINISTER IN LONDON: The fact that you have asked me to speak a few words may be a more or less valid excuse for my presumption in following the two speakers we have heard. I feel that there is nothing left for me to say that would be worth your attention. The interesting things you have heard, the intimate knowledge of Eastern affairs as they have been set forth to us by two speakers, must not be shadowed by any words which an outsider thinks fit to add to them.

But as that outsider has the honour of representing amongst you the country of which the economic and colonial development has been the subject of the lecture, I think that I may anticipate your consent for me to speak a few profane words. I must first thank the East India Association, which has given us the opportunity of hearing a learned man like Dr. Neijtzell de Wilde exposing before you an inside view of the lines along which Holland has during many, many centuries shown her conception of what it meant to be placed as a guardian over many millions of people belonging to very different races and far away from our own, and how she has been able to reconcile the gradual development of the inhabitants of

those islands with the material benefits which those by nature so richly endowed islands have in store for the Mother Country. This very difficult problem is presented in British India in a similar, be it not really identical, form.

We have also heard an eminent statesman, Sir Samuel Hoare, whom the East India Association has had the great good fortune to secure tonight for the chairmanship of this lecture, an honour which I know that the lecturer himself realizes to the fullest extent. Sir Samuel Hoare, as Secretary of State for India, is better qualified than anyone else to judge what it means to reconcile those two different elements. That he is here is a cause for great congratulation, and I thank him very much indeed for his presence. (Applause.) When Sir Samuel opened the meeting in such well chosen words, it struck me that he knew how to prepare the atmosphere for the audience to be able to appreciate the lecture. His speech demonstrated his knowledge and his tact.

We have been able to follow from what the lecturer said that during all the time that our Empire has been built up there has been no conflict in arms of any importance with British interests. In the old days in the seventeenth century we fought each other on the open sea, but from the time that naval rivalry was happily ended in the union of the two countries under the King-Stadholder, in all these years there has been no conflict in arms between Dutch and English troops in the East Indian waters. Even after the administration of Sir Stamford Raffles himself, more than a century has passed in which these peaceful relations have been continued, to the great benefit of both countries. (Applause.) Therefore, when your naval experts met the other day, Sir Samuel, in Singapore to examine the complications with which the British fleet may again be confronted in those regions, that meeting never frightened us in Holland in the slightest, because we knew that whatever they were deciding they have no idea of aggressive intentions against the Dutch Colonies. Can you understand with what pleasure I read this morning that the Conference in Singapore had come to an end—not that that gave me joy in itself, but that Admiral Sir Frederick Dreyer, who had presided over the Conference, left in the cruiser *Suffolk* for Batavia. That was a very pleasant moment for me. When we look at our relations in the Far East from a political point of view, it is a matter of the greatest satisfaction.

But alas!—three times alas!—what a different picture is presented by economic relations—relations which at one time were prosperous on both sides; but, Sir Samuel, you know that at this moment the economic connection between British India and Java is a shadow of what it was before, especially because the greatest item in that commerce was sugar. The Government of India has raised such high tariff walls against sugar that it is not only impossible to jump over them, but even for anyone who attempted to make the jump it would be a *salto mortale*, because he would see himself landed on the other side of the tariff walls in a field of barbed wire, where the barbed wire itself was replaced by new sugar factories, rising like mushrooms out of the ground there. He would be inclined to leave the country at once, saying, "Here, for me at least, sugar is no more sweet, but bitter."

But, Sir Samuel, if I go on in this way, what I intended to be a hymn of thanks will end by being a tale of woe! Therefore I will stop, except to use this opportunity to make a very strong and very well-meant appeal to your powerful influence. If possible try to convince the Indian Government that a continuation of our commercial relations is to the benefit of both countries. Do not forget to tell them that the sugar goes to British India, but if anyone from India comes to Java at this moment he will find the silk goods of Bombay all over Java, and who knows whether the people will go on dressing themselves in silk when the situation ends in a formal catastrophe?

It is superfluous to remind you that our colonial economy has always been the Open Door. We have no differential duties on anything. The Open Door, as the Frenchman says, can go closed too. There is another French proverb which says : *Vivent les principes, périssent les colonies*; but there was also a school in France which turned that round and said : *Périssent les principes, mais vivent les colonies*. We also might come to a situation when the Government would think more about colonies than principles. I hope it will never come to that, and I know you are the man upon whose good disposition towards us we may count. (Applause.)

The Right. Hon. L. S. AMERY, M.P. : We have listened to an extraordinarily interesting and informative lecture, of which to my mind not the least striking feature was its modesty. Dr. de Wilde spoke in restrained, almost deprecating terms of Holland's immense achievements in economic development and in administration. You and I, Mr. Chairman, and many in this room who have had to deal with similar economic and administrative problems in our own experience, know well how wonderful that achievement has been and how much of human ability and effort and thought are summed up in those very simple, matter-of-fact statements which he made. Also his address has been very interesting, because the problems with which he has dealt have their parallels within our own Empire and because there is always much that we can learn in the methods of others.

It struck me that there are two main problems which ran through the address—the economic problem and the problem which you, Mr. Chairman, described as the bringing together of the aspirations of East and West. On the economic side Holland carried out with success for two centuries or more the mercantile policy to which the world generally devoted itself in those days. More recently it has carried out with even more conspicuous success, your Excellency, the policy of Free Trade and the Open Door, which characterized the great era of nineteenth-century expansion. I think Java might almost be taken as the *ne plus ultra* of what can be achieved in a tropical country of rich soil with an industrious, intelligent, and hard-working population, by European capital, by European directing policy, and by European science.

I am a little surprised—though perhaps hardly surprised in view of the general modesty of our lecturer's tone—that he did not emphasize the fact that no Government in the world has done so much for tropical development by the expansion of scientific research. Certainly to me, dealing with similar problems in the British Empire, what the Netherlands Government has

done in places like Buitenzorg and Paseroean will always stand out as a triumph of applied thinking over material nature. But all those immense achievements have depended upon the existence of a market, and that market today is in danger as it never was before. It has been temporarily endangered, cut in half, by the great world depression; but it is more seriously and permanently threatened by the whole change in economic thought and policy all over the world.

It is not India only, your Excellency, that is trying to develop in its own territories the things that the Dutch East Indies have produced, and putting up tariffs against you. After all, however friendly we may be, there is no doubt that in recent years our policy of Empire development has set certain barriers against you with regard to sugar, tea, and tobacco. The whole position of tropical territories raising primary products is going to be a very difficult one in the modern world.

It is no longer safe to rely upon a world market. You need a secure market. The West Indies and Mauritius as sugar producers would long ago have gone to the wall in competition with Java and Cuba if they had not got a secure and assured home market in this country. One difference, it seems to me, between the position of British tropical territories and your own is that their home market here is a much larger one than that of the Netherlands, capable of absorbing their products to a much greater extent.

If the world is going to turn steadily more towards a self-contained economic system, it seems to me that the only security for the continued development in the long run of your great Eastern Empire is some enlargement of the Netherlands home market, and that presumably can only come by bringing within that economic market those other European countries which have need of the products of your Colonies.

For, giving you a favour in those markets, they will no doubt demand favours over us and over India in your Colonies. Well, if it should come to that, we shall have no right to complain. Certainly, from your own point of view, it seems to me that sooner or later you have to envisage the necessity, as the free world market contracts, of strengthening your hold by negotiation upon assured markets. That means, of course, the disappearance of the most-favoured-nation clause—but I think that is doomed, anyway.

If I may add a word on the political situation, there your difficulties are, in many ways perhaps, less than ours. The problem in the Dutch East Indies is infinitely less complex than it is in the Empire of India. Moreover, you have this difference, possibly an advantage, that you have advanced later into the field of Western development. We have been bound to advance while the ideas of nineteenth-century democracy were still in the ascendant. Those ideas are being transformed, passing away. New constitutional ideas, underlying much that is happening in Central Europe today, are working their way out. By the time you come to take some of the measures that we have taken and are taking in India today, you may have a good deal of the experience of the old world, of new forms of representation, new methods of government that may help you and possibly simplify your task.

Dr. A. NEIJTEZELL DE WILDE : I restricted myself to a short but, I hope, a fair exposition of the evolution and problems of the Dutch East Indies. May I take it that the discussion following on my paper does not put me in the wrong? I want to thank the speakers for their remarks in connection with my lecture, which have shown their interest in the subject introduced to them.

In replying to Mr. Amery I should like to tell this little anecdote. An Englishman who for many years had held a high position in British India and made himself acquainted with the situation in the Netherland Indies, and especially in regard to the Volksraad, some years ago said to me, "We are some twenty years ahead of you"; he added, "but you need not be envious."

There is no call for a more detailed reply, because my lecture was not controversial, but was chiefly one of exposition. So I want to thank you, ladies and gentlemen, and first of all the Chairman and His Excellency, for your very kind attendance and attention and for your very cordial reception.

Lord LAMINGTON : Before we separate I wish to express, on behalf of the East India Association, our thanks to Dr. de Wilde for having come from Holland to deliver us a lecture based on his prolonged political and administrative experience in the Netherland East Indies. It is the first time in our history that we have had a distinguished gentleman coming from abroad for the sole purpose of lecturing to us.

This evening has been of particular interest to us owing to the Netherland East Indies not being so very remote from our Indian Empire, and the problems there not being very dissimilar from those that confront us in India. The comparison is especially interesting at this time when the Indian Constitution is being remodelled.

There is ample proof of the value of this lecture in the fact that for the second time in six months we have the Secretary of State for India honouring us with his presence. On each occasion he has come direct from his labours in connection with the Joint Committee sitting in the House of Lords. That is a remarkable testimony to the value of the address we have heard this evening, and therefore without further delay I wish to express our thanks to Dr. de Wilde for having come here and given us this interesting address; also to Sir Samuel Hoare for using his scanty leisure to preside over us this evening.

The motion was carried by acclamation.

Sir HENRY LAWRENCE writes : "The general situation in the Dutch East Indies has so many points of parallel with our problems in British India that we should be most grateful to the governing body of our Association for the opportunity to hear this admirable review by Dr. de Wilde on Dutch policy in the East Indies.

"Dr. de Wilde has made a very modest reference to the efforts of his Government for the scientific improvement of produce in Java; for the scientific research conducted at Buitenzorg is known and valued throughout the world, and, to take one instance only, their work on the sugar cane has

contributed greatly to the prosperity of sugar cane cultivators, not only in India, but even so far afield as our West Indian islands. A few years ago, when I was with Lord Linlithgow's Agriculture Commission, it was brought to our notice that the cane known as *poj* Java and its descendants made a revolution in cane growing. It is the irony of fate that these Dutch scientists have contributed to the barring of the door in India to the importations of Java sugar; but this misfortune for Java is a frequent reward of scientific developments.

"Dr. de Wilde has also pointed out the tragedy which is common alike to the Dutch and the British Governments, that every rise in the welfare of the native population is counterbalanced by the increase in the population. The increase in Java of 250 per cent. in the last sixty years may be compared with the increase in British India of 30,000,000, or 10 per cent., in the last ten years. In this simple fact of the pullulation of Asiatic peoples we may recognize perhaps the gravest menace to the peace of the world.

"The constitutional developments also deserve the consideration of our statesmen, and it is of good omen that Sir Samuel Hoare exhibits his freedom from the self-satisfied complacency of our insular prejudices, and shows his readiness to study the solution applied in Netherland India to similar problems. It is not too late for such study to bring inestimable benefits to India, and one point of peculiar interest is the adoption by the Dutch of indirect elections. If the plan of the enfranchisement of 37,000,000 direct voters for India is finally adopted, then, when that plan breaks down through the sheer weight of numbers and the intolerable costliness, our statesmen may, perhaps, be driven of sheer necessity to revert to the more practical methods of indirect elections. This device has not only been proved to be successful in the colonial administration of the Dutch East Indies, but has also sprung from the soil in all other Oriental states such as Syria, 'Iraq, Turkey, and Egypt, where the rulers have found that the safety of the state demands protection from the dangers of illiteracy and the passions of mob agitation. What would Dr. de Wilde say of a system which gives a direct vote to 10 per cent. of the people, and, if applied to his Government, would enfranchise 6,000,000 out of a population of 60,000,000? His remarks indicate that he would agree with his countrymen, Dr. Angelino and Jhr. Van Karnebeck, that this system would not meet with their support.

"On the other hand, it is clear that our Dutch friends have recognized the importance of fostering the spirit of public service and the worthy ambition of being a representative of a group. Perhaps in this device they have discovered the secret of the enigma which the rising generation has to solve how to organize the employment of the leisure of the masses."

Mr. E. E. LONG, C.B.E., writes: "I should like to express my thanks to Dr. Neijtzell de Wilde for his excellent paper. I speak with a certain amount of knowledge of the Netherland East Indies, and not merely of Java and Sumatra, but of several of what are termed the Outer Possessions—Bali, Celebes, the Moluccas, the Kei and Aru Islands, Timor Laut, and Dutch New Guinea.

"I think it is very difficult for those who have not travelled extensively
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throughout the Dutch East Indies to realize the extent of the problem with which the Dutch and Dutch Colonial Governments are faced. From Sabang in North Sumatra to Merauke in New Guinea is a distance of 3,000 miles, or more than the distance from this country to America. The intervening seas shelter scores of islands, some considerably larger than some of the countries of Europe, several equal in size to the smallest of European lands, and inhabited by races of Malayan, Polynesian, and Papuan stock, and blends of all three. New Guinea is so remote, even to the people of Java, that on one occasion when, on my return to Soerabaya from Dutch South New Guinea, I attempted to give an impression of the Papuans there--people of decidedly curious appearance, with habits we should term exceedingly repulsive, and still given to the savage practices of head-hunting and cannibalism—I was looked upon as somewhat of a Baron Münchhausen!

"For Holland, with a population of seven and a half millions, to provide a Civil Service, with a certain amount of help from the domiciled community, to govern the whole of this vast territory, equal in extent to the half of Europe, without Russia, is a tremendous task, but it has been undertaken and carried out with signal success.

"The percentages of the world supply of certain commodities such as rubber, quinine, copra, tea, cocoa, kapok, and pepper, contributed by the Netherland East Indies in 1928, mentioned by Dr. Neijzell de Wilde, must have surprised many of his listeners who are not familiar with the subject. Though evil times have come, and, unfortunately, restriction in the production of many of the most valuable of the commodities for the use of mankind is the policy of the day rather than expansion, such an artificial condition of things cannot, let us hope, last for long. With a return to freer, and fairer, trade conditions throughout the world, and a thoroughly economic method of distribution, the Netherland East Indies will surely resume its position as one of the leading sources of supplies of invaluable tropical products. Despite all that has been accomplished up to the present in this respect, there are still millions and millions of acres of some of the most fertile soil in the world awaiting development in the Outer Possessions of the Netherland East Indies—for the benefit of the consumers of tropical products in every part of the world. And with the return of economic prosperity I feel convinced that many of the political evils encouraged by the miseries of economic depression will also pass away, and that Dutch colonial administrators will be enabled to continue their just and beneficent rule in the Netherland East Indies—a rule which is endeavouring to hold the balance fairly between the interests of the native population and those of the European community."

POPULATION AND HEALTH IN INDIA: THE REAL PROBLEM

By MAJOR-GENERAL SIR JOHN MEGAW,
K.C.I.E., M.B., I.M.S. (retd.)

THE title of this paper was rather hastily concocted by Mr. Brown and myself, but I make no apology on that account: if the words suggest a challenge so much the better, for I invite the frankest criticism of my views; indeed a complete refutation would be welcome. Population and health in India is far too big a subject to be dealt with properly in the short time at my disposal, so I propose to restrict myself to a few of the outstanding points.

The problem of human life in general is essentially biological. Man, like other animals, depends for his well-being on a favourable environment, but, unlike the lower forms of life, he has the power of controlling his surroundings to a large extent; his success or failure in securing a satisfactory existence depends greatly on the manner in which he makes and carries out his plans. Looking at the world today we observe a surprising degree of inequality in the results of man's efforts to secure a favourable environment for himself. In some respects he has succeeded in harnessing the forces of Nature in such a way as to make life more pleasant for mankind as a whole, but too often the products of his ingenuity are directed to the detriment or even destruction of his fellow-beings.

Medical science is one of the rare examples of a human activity which has enlisted the friendly co-operation of every civilized country in a movement for the welfare of humanity in general. Medicine is fortunate in being served by a brotherhood of men who attack their problems in a scientific manner and in a spirit of goodwill to all mankind.

Science is not enough, it may be directed towards destruction as well as construction; goodwill is not enough, some of the world's

greatest tragedies have been caused by idealists; it is only by a combination of the scientific with the humanitarian spirit that real progress can be made.

BASIC PRINCIPLES OF THE POPULATION PROBLEM

"Every schoolboy knows" that all animals produce more offspring than are needed to replace the parents: in the case of some kinds of fish each mature female produces millions of eggs, though on the average only two of these survive to reach the reproductive stage. Among mammals there are no examples of such excessive reproduction, yet it is estimated that a single pair of rats could have a hundred descendants in the course of a year if no casualties occurred.

Man is much less prolific than the lower forms of animal life, yet human beings could easily double their numbers every twenty-five years if no checks of any kind were applied. Thus, starting from a single pair, the present population of the world could be reached in 800 years if no checks were imposed. We have no accurate knowledge of the population of the world till recent times; obviously the rate of increase must have been very slow on the whole throughout the thousands of years since man appeared on the earth.

Shortage of food, disease, war, and other forms of violent death imposed effective checks on the growth of population till a few generations ago, when new factors have come into play in the case of progressive countries: the chief of these factors are increased production of food and disease prevention.

An opposing factor has come into prominence within the last century, the deliberate restriction of reproduction which originates from a desire to secure better conditions of life. In this connection a misunderstanding must be cleared up: the term "birth-control" is often used in the sense of contraception; but, of course, contraception is merely one of the methods of birth-control.

Celibacy and delayed marriage have the same effect as contraception in restricting the number of births, and therefore they have every right to be regarded as forms of birth-control. The opposition of certain Churches is not directed against the preven-

tion of births in itself, but against certain special methods of birth control, especially artificial abortion and contraception. Restriction of the population, by one means or another, is clearly inevitable, save in special conditions when the food supply is sufficient, for the time being, to provide for a swelling population. Time only permits of a very cursory glance at this aspect of the question, but obviously broad biological principles form the necessary basis of a proper understanding of the population problem.

VARIATIONS IN POPULATION

Experience is the best guide in human affairs, so I propose to refer to a few examples of what has actually happened to certain groups of human beings in varying conditions of environment. My first example is taken from one of Sir George Newman's fascinating books. Sir George tells us that in London 200 years ago something like three children out of four died before reaching the age of five. In such circumstances a high birth rate was essential if the family or race were to have a chance of survival.

Taking England as a whole, we are told that the population increased only from 5 to $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions between the years 1600 and 1700, by 1800 it had grown to 9 millions, in 1900 it had swelled to 30 millions: now the 40 million mark has been reached. The rapid growth during the past 150 years or so has not resulted from a rise in the birth rate, but from an increase in the survival rate, due partly to disease prevention and partly to improved economic conditions. These two factors are so intimately associated that the exact share of credit due to each cannot be estimated with any degree of accuracy. One thing is certain: neither factor by itself could have caused the remarkable results which have been achieved in England.

My next example shows how precarious is the state of a people whose numbers increase while their economic condition deteriorates. The population of Ireland in 1700 was about $1\frac{1}{4}$ millions, in 1800 it was $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions, by the year 1840 it had grown to about 8 millions.

The condition of the people in 1840 is vividly described by Stephen Gwynn in the following words:

"In a parish with a population of 9,000 the only wheeled vehicle was one cart, there was one plough, sixteen harrows, twenty shovels, no pigs, no clock, three watches, no fruit trees, people slept naked on straw and rushes, men and cattle were housed together. The school teacher, a man of distinction, had a salary of £8 a year. The people had one meal a day, sometimes only one meal in two days. The poor became a teeming multitude, living on potatoes with a little milk. Over two million persons were in distress for more than half of every year. At least a quarter of a million were driven to beg on the roads before the potato harvest."

The population of Ireland is now little more than 4 millions, yet there is overcrowding. The last census report shows how drastic are the measures that are being adopted to control the growth of population : about 25 per cent. of the people never marry; no less than 80 per cent. of the males between the ages of 25 and 30 are still unmarried. The calamity which happened in Ireland less than a hundred years ago is a striking example of the manner in which Nature deals with excessive and improvident reproduction.

One more case will be mentioned—that of Japan in recent years. The Japanese have been making determined efforts to control preventable disease and increase the output of commodities, so that the conditions seem to be favourable for improvement in the health of the community. Yet we find that the death rate in 1931 was 19 per mille, about the same as in 1886, whereas in England it fell from 18·5 to about 12 during the same period. The infant mortality rate of Japan rose during the years 1886 to 1931 and was about 132 in the latter year, while in England it fell from 145 to 66. The expectation of life of a child born in Japan in 1931 was $42\frac{1}{2}$ years, actually $1\frac{1}{2}$ years less than it was 15 years previously. In England it was about 58 years in 1931, having risen by 15 years during the past half-century.

Why has public health achieved so great a victory in England and failed in Japan? The explanation seems to be that while production of commodities was increasing in Japan, the population was growing even more rapidly. The birth statistics of England and Japan throw a flood of light on the question. In Japan the birth rate rose from 29 to more than 32 between the years 1886 and 1931, while in England it fell from 31 to about 15 during the same period.

One might well ask what would have happened in England if the birth rate had remained over 31 during the whole of the last 50 years, assuming that there had been no adequate outlet for the surplus population? Incidentally it may be observed that the international problem of Japan cannot be understood without taking into account the rapid growth of population: the Japanese question is one of biology rather than of politics. On a visit to Japan in 1925 I obtained an interesting sidelight on the Japanese outlook on life: I asked a leading public health official for his views on the great increase which was taking place in the population; his reply was: "Any discussion of the limitation of families in Japan is not permissible."

THE PROBLEM OF INDIA

The problem of population and health in India is simple in its broad outlines when studied in the light of general biological principles and the experience of other countries.

First of all, a few words must be said about the historical background of the question. The real history of India is not a record of wars or of political movements so much as the simple story of the conditions of life of the people. The population of India must have grown very slowly before the country came under British control: periods of increase must have alternated with periods of diminution caused by famine, epidemics, and war. Under British rule the output of food and other commodities has expanded greatly: famine and epidemics have been brought under control to a large extent, while violent deaths have been reduced to negligible numbers. The result has been that the population has doubled within a comparatively short time, while in spite of this increase in the number of mouths to be fed, the economic condition of the people as a whole has improved to some extent.

This is the bright side of the picture, but there is also a dark side. The most alarming facts are that between the years 1921 and 1931 no less than 34 millions were added to the population, and that the rate of increase is now greater than ever. Reliable estimates indicate that nearly 5 millions are now being added to the population every year, so that unless some unex-

pected check should be applied there will be about 400 millions of people in India by 1941.

Two questions arise—are the present conditions of life of the people satisfactory? and are they tending to improve or deteriorate? Evidence bearing on the first question is found in the official vital statistics. The death rate of India in 1931 was nearly 25 per mille as against about 12 in England. The infant mortality rate of India in the same year was 179 against about 66 in England. The birth rate of India was more than 34 against 15·8 in England. The expectation of life of a child born in India is less than half that of an English child.

About two years ago, with a view to filling in a few further details of the picture, I made a rough survey of some of the conditions of village life in India. A questionnaire was issued to a large number of doctors working in typical agricultural villages throughout India: the figures which I now give are based on the replies of 571 medical men.

About 60 per cent. of the people were reported to be poorly or badly nourished. There was little evidence of actual hunger, three meals daily being more common than two, but malnutrition due to unsuitable diet was the rule rather than the exception. The average amount of milk consumed by each person worked out at about $3\frac{1}{2}$ ounces daily; nourishing proteins and vitamins were obviously insufficient in the great majority of cases. It was reported that scarcity or famine had occurred at some time during the previous ten years in 22 per cent. of the villages which were surveyed. The average age at which girls begin to cohabit with their husbands is 14 years, and the average age of the mother at the birth of her first child is 16 years.

The maternal mortality rate worked out at 24 per mille births against a little more than 4 in England. Statistical accuracy is not claimed for these figures, but they do give a true general impression of the realities of the situation. They show that health and economic conditions in India are thoroughly unsatisfactory. On the other hand, the rapid increase which is still occurring in the population shows that the people can maintain some kind of existence on even lower standards of well-being.

Dealing with the second question—are the standards of health and life in India tending to improve or deteriorate?—our only guide is the official information of the output of crops and other commodities and of the growth of population.

The evidence goes to show that India has already reached a stage at which reproduction is increasing more rapidly than production, so that a close parallel exists with the conditions existing in Ireland a century ago. Economists are no longer regarded as infallible, but they are on safe ground when they assert that the amenities of civilized life are provided by the surplus of production over what is needed to maintain life. If, as seems to be the case, this surplus is dwindling in India, what is to happen to the structure of civilization? how are the army and police to be maintained? how will education and public health be provided for? how will trade and commerce fare? We used to blame the people of India for hoarding gold, but it looks as if the sale of these hoards had been staving off the evil day during the past two years. This relief cannot last indefinitely; hence the urgent necessity for considering very seriously what will happen when the next great failure of the monsoon occurs.

You may say that the world is producing more food than can be consumed, but difficulties will certainly arise if it be proposed to pour the surplus wheat into India: even if these obstacles could be overcome, the only result would be to promote a further expansion of the population, so that the problem, instead of being solved, would become greater than ever.

I have dealt very briefly with the Indian problem; it stands out so clearly that few words are needed to show that the country is in a state of emergency which is passing rapidly towards one of crisis.

WHAT IS THE REMEDY?

Some of you are doubtless impatiently waiting to ask me what is the use of trying to make our flesh creep when everybody knows that there is no remedy for the evils which have been described? My reply is—how do you know that there is no remedy? An attitude of fatalistic resignation will be justified

only after we have failed in a determined effort to discover and remove the causes of the ills which beset India. We take a justifiable pride in the wonderful work which has been done in India : the wealth of the country has been doubled, peace and justice have been established. Thousands of our countrymen have sacrificed health and even life itself in the struggle to harness the forces of Nature for the benefit of the people.

Nature now threatens to take her revenge for our interference with her destructive powers : her opportunity for doing so will certainly come if we fail to deal with the new situation which has been created as a result of our own labours. What is needed is not to bow our heads and wait for Nature to create a wilderness, but to recognize the fact that in the contest with Nature we have been short-sighted; we have upset her balance without applying a counterpoise. The plan of battle must be rearranged so as to make a well-considered advance along the whole front instead of progressing on one part of the line, leaving our flank unguarded. Nature, if handled with firmness and intelligence, is an excellent servant; if allowed to assume control she is a ruthless tyrant.

It would be cowardly to take refuge in the plea that we are preparing to hand over the responsibility to the people of India, and therefore action must be deferred till the new Government is in working order. Such a policy would be justified only if we could persuade the great biological forces to halt in their ruthless march until the new Government of India is in full working order. Apart from a miracle of this kind, the administration, whatever form it may assume, will find itself faced with a super-human task.

Another pretext for inaction is that the only effective remedy for the ills of India would involve interference with the religious beliefs and social prejudices of the people. This view has been expressed many times by Europeans, rarely by Indians. I have discussed the question with many educated Indians : every one of them has freely admitted the urgency of the problem, and nine out of ten have assured me that their religious beliefs would not stand in the way of the necessary reform in the Indian outlook on life. The resolution on birth-control passed in December last

by the All-India Women's Conference must have been an eye-opener to many Europeans, but this was merely a reiteration of a similar resolution passed two or three years ago by the same body of educated Indian women representative of all races and creeds of the country.

Let me make it clear at once that I do not advocate any particular form of population control, whether it be celibacy, delayed marriage, or contraception. Each individual and community must decide as to the special method of control which is acceptable to them. What I do advocate very strongly is that the people should be instructed in the hard facts which have to be faced and told how other countries have dealt with a similar problem.

So long as this instruction deals with biological principles and historical facts there can be no objection: the practical application of the instruction can safely be left to the people themselves. The truth is that the inhibitions connected with the study of the population problem have been chiefly on our side: we have been accustomed to plan our own lives in such a way as to secure a comfortable existence, but we have assumed, quite wrongly, that education in life planning is inadmissible in India.

An account by an eye-witness of a little incident which happened nearly 60 years ago in India is a good illustration of the attitude of many educated Europeans to this question. Sir Richard Temple, Governor of Bombay, when on tour, was presented with an address by the Karbari of a Mahratta State who requested His Excellency "to use his high character and transcendent ability to restrain, in some measure at all events, the inordinate aptitude of the people to increase the population." Sir Richard's indignant reply was that "he would do everything in his power for the increase, and nothing for the diminution of Her Majesty's subjects." The Karbari and his friends were amazed that the Governor should have taken offence at so reasonable a request.

Even if time permitted, it would be inappropriate for me to bring forward a detailed plan of remedial action: this ought to be prepared after a thorough investigation of the case by the best brains of India and England.

The problem, fortunately, is outside the domain of party

politics and racial prejudice. It cannot be dealt with in a satisfactory manner by experts : the question is not one of disease prevention, of agriculture, of economics, of industry, of commerce, of finance, of sociology, or of education, but of all these subjects acting and reacting on each other in a very intimate manner. What is needed is a broad general survey of the situation by a body of men with a judicial rather than a specialist outlook, but, of course, the specialists can give very valuable help by supplying evidence.

The urgent need for inducing the people of India to adopt a new outlook on life has been stated with admirable clearness by the Royal Commission on Agriculture in the concluding chapter of their Report in the following words :

" Throughout our Report we have endeavoured to make plain our conviction that no substantial improvement in agriculture can be effected unless the cultivator has the will to achieve a better standard of living, and the capacity, in terms of mental equipment, and of physical health, to take advantage of the opportunities which science, wise laws and good administration may place at his disposal. Of all the factors making for prosperous agriculture, by far the most important is the outlook of the peasant himself. This, in the main, is determined by his environment, and it follows therefore that the success of all measures designed for the advancement of agriculture must depend upon the creation of conditions favourable to progress. If this conclusion is accepted, the improvement of village life in all directions assumes at once a new importance as the first and essential step in a comprehensive policy designed to promote the prosperity of the whole population and to enhance the national income at the source. The demand for a better life can, in our opinion, be stimulated only by deliberate and concerted effort to improve the general condition of the countryside, and we have no hesitation in affirming that the responsibility for initiating the steps required to effect this improvement rests with Government."

I venture to assert that if the whole of the rest of the Report had been ignored, and if a determined effort had been made to give effect to these weighty conclusions, we should already have made a good start in bringing India to a state of prosperity. A careful investigation would certainly bring about a realization of the fact that the sick man, India, is suffering from a progressive debilitating malady whose root cause is ignorance.

There is ignorance of the means of avoiding the infection of deadly diseases, ignorance of the disastrous effects of forcing im-

mature children to produce babies for whom they cannot provide, ignorance of the wastage which results from the use of cow-dung for fuel and the maintenance of millions of useless cattle, ignorance of the means of increasing the yield of nutritious food crops. Briefly stated the evils of India are due to ignorance of life planning.

The remedy is obvious: this consists in education directed definitely towards teaching the people how to make a success of life.

Up to a point the investigation would be simple: the real difficulty will be to prepare a sound working scheme for conveying instruction in life planning in an effective and acceptable manner. But if a new situation with new difficulties has arisen, science has provided us with new facilities for dealing with the problem.

I am convinced that if a quarter of the large expenditure on education in India were set apart for conducting well-organized propaganda by such means as the cinema and broadcasting, the whole outlook on life of the people of India might well be revolutionized within a few years. The rural population of India are thirsting for amusement to relieve the drab monotony of their lives. As was shown in the lecture to this Association in October last by Mr. Strickland, this can be supplied by broadcasting, and at the same time the opportunity can be taken of providing instruction in an interesting form.

The problem must be tackled as one of public health, but public health must be understood to comprise everything that makes for the production of a favourable environment for the people: it is not merely a question of disease prevention. Above all, the method of approach must be that which has characterized public health work throughout the world; it must be one in which scientific methods are applied in a spirit of goodwill to all mankind.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, February 27, 1934, when a paper entitled "Health and Population in India: the Real Problem," was read by Major-General Sir John Megaw, K.C.I.E., M.B., I.M.S. (retd.). Sir George Newman, K.C.B., M.D., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

Sir John Kerr, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir Malcolm Seton, K.C.B., Sir Reginald Glancy, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir Duncan Macpherson, C.I.E., Sir Albion Banerji, C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Leonard Rogers, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., M.D., etc., Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Charles Innes, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Philip Hartog, K.B.E., C.I.E., Sir Ross Barker, K.C.I.E., C.B., Lieut-Colonel Sir Cusack and Lady Walton, Lady Bennett, Lady Walker, Lady Abbas Ali Baig, Mr. R. A. Butler, M.P., Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M.P., Mr. F. G. Pratt, C.S.I., Mr. H. M. R. Hopkins, C.S.I., Mr. O. Gruzelier, M.V.O., Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mrs. Weir, Swami B. H. Bon, Mrs. Damry, Mrs. D. Chaplin, Miss M. Hooper, Mr. T. R. V. Chari, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. Sunder Kabadi, Mr. H. K. Sadler, Mr. R. A. MacLeod, Mr. N. N. Ghosh, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mrs. Dewar, Rev. E. S. and Mrs. Carr, Miss C. K. Cumming, Miss Price-Simpson, Mrs. Gray, Mr. C. R. Corbett, Miss Leatherdale, Miss Hanson, Dr. and Mrs. T. T. Thomson, Mrs. B. D. Bery, Miss E. Macadam, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen,—It is very kind of the East India Association to invite me to their meeting to-night, and I am very pleased to come. I looked up my records, and I discovered that it is now about fifty years since my father was invited by your Association to come and lecture here on "Water Storage and Irrigation in India." He had only been a private traveller in the East, but he had been much interested in questions of irrigation. He became a friend of Sir Arthur Cotton and was drawn into something in which he was not much more than an amateur, but a much interested amateur.

In the second place, I am very pleased to be here to preside for my distinguished friend, Sir John Megaw. Not only had he, as we all remember, a long and useful career in India, but we are now happy in having him back in England as President of the Medical Board at the India Office, and I am quite sure that we shall listen with the interest and attention which it deserves to what he has to say to us.

Major-General Sir JOHN MEGAW, K.C.I.E., M.B., I.M.S.: Let me first of all express the sense of honour which I feel at being invited to address you this evening, and especially at the fact that Sir George Newman has consented to come and preside over the meeting.

The paper was then read.

The CHAIRMAN : I am sure that we shall all feel that Sir John Megaw has placed us greatly in his debt by his paper to-day, by his lucidity and simplicity, by the fact that he deals with some of the fundamental issues of life not only in India but here also.

At first sight this problem of the population, as he has presented it, and as we all are witnesses of it in India, may strike us as novel, but a little reflection will show us that it is a very ancient problem, and one which has been met with on many occasions in the long history of mankind, and I doubt not that with the exercise of the suggestions which he has made to us, it may be solved or at least ameliorated in India.

You will not forget that we have experienced this problem in England. In 1348 the population of England was four millions, and in 1349 it was only two millions, because the plague had slain half the population, and a great deal of the subsequent history of England to-day in regard to wages and land tenure was permanently affected by this extraordinary situation.

Very much later, in modern times, in 1800, the population was nine millions, a growth, you see, over four or five centuries which was extremely slow. To-day it is between forty and forty-two millions. There are no doubt too many of us on this little island in a northern sea, and yet we have contrived, as our forefathers before us have contrived, to produce the healthiest nation in the world. We have done that, not because of medical science so much as because of social circumstance, which has been controlled by Government and by the individual, combined with education.

We learned lessons. England learned how to control disease, not because she has any particular genius in that regard, but because her history has taught her how to control disease, and her people have grown up more and more accustomed to such control. I suppose I am saying what is true, I believe it to be true—we have the healthiest nation in the world at the present time because the people are socially circumstanced more favourably than others, and by their growing experience and education and by the understanding of the common people of the art of living they have been able to survive and raise their nine millions to forty millions in a hundred and twenty-five years. They have been able to reduce their high mortalities by a recognition of the facts of nature, and a more and more biological understanding of those facts.

I have endeavoured to point out for many years to this country that the conditions of the health of its people are dependent not upon drugs but upon a fuller understanding of what I call for short "the art of living." I could give many illustrations of this, but they would probably only bore you, and they would not be exactly comparable to the problem which has been raised by Sir John Megaw. I read this paper with very great pleasure, and we have heard it with still more pleasure. The living voice and the living personality of a distinguished medical officer of the Government of India have added to the printed word.

It is a problem which seems to me to be threefold. The problem is a population so large that it is higher than the production of the nation is at present supporting. Secondly, it is to be solved mainly by the education of the people as a whole, and Sir John gives various illustrations where

education is sadly needed. He would be the first to admit the extreme difficulties in India, which has not had the advantages which the nineteenth century gave to England or anything comparable to them. We owe a very great deal to the early Victorians and to the nineteenth century. They built a solid foundation of health for us. The position in which England stands to-day is more dependent upon the Act of 1870 for the education of the people than many of the Public Health Acts which Parliament has since passed.

Thirdly, we must not be unduly depressed in regard to the ravages of disease. We have seen the great triumphs of science and of social reform, and they go hand in hand, changing the face of England to an incredible degree even in our own lifetime. If you want to see leprosy, you must leave England and go where you can find it. If you want to see plague, you must leave England and go where you can find it. If you want to see cholera, you must leave England and go where you can find it. Yet those three diseases have in the past swept England and brought it well-nigh to a conclusion. Four times in the nineteenth century the visitations of cholera impressed the English people so profoundly that we set to work to mend our ways, clean our water, and behave ourselves a little better than we had done formerly. Leprosy, plague, cholera—three diseases which India knows all too well to-day to its terrible cost—have been banished from England and are now curiosities in this country.

What man has done, man can do with those strange but all-powerful factors that Sir John Megaw mentioned in his lecture—knowledge, understanding, and goodwill. Then his actual recommendation commends itself to me as being a very sound proposal, one in which he and I have to indulge in our official work very often—namely, go and find out, enquire. So he says here, “What is needed is a broad general survey of the situation by a body of men with a judicial rather than a specialist outlook.” I am with him entirely. That is the kind of way in which to begin to approach this vast human problem which so many English people overlook.

I am glad to be here to hear the President of the Medical Board of the India Office and the late Sanitary Commissioner of the Government in India; I am glad to hear from him of his appreciation of this splendid call to us all, for ourselves as well as for our fellow-citizens in India—namely, further education in the art of living, and an appropriate inquiry in India as to the exact situation in respect of maternity, birth control, and malnutrition, and the means for improving the public health and the prevention of avoidable disease.

MISS ELEANOR RATHBONE, M.P.: It was impossible to listen to Sir John Megaw's exceedingly lucid and interesting address without one's mind bristling with questions one wanted to put to him. So I shall proceed at once to put as many as I dare allow myself without taking up more time than is fitting for any one member to take up.

The first question one wants to ask him was led up to by what was almost the concluding sentence of his address—namely, a quotation from the Linlithgow Report, which ended with the words: “The responsibility

for initiating the steps required to effect this improvement [in the general condition of the countryside] rests with Government."

What I should like to hear from him is, what steps exactly would he like the Government to take? He did indicate one step. He suggested the necessity for a survey by men of judicial minds, who should hear expert evidence. I think many of us would like to see such a survey, but, if I may put the doubt quite brutally which I think is in some of our minds: What is the use of a survey unless you have a Government that is willing to carry out the recommendations of the survey, even if those recommendations should prove to be unpopular?

Therefore I should like to ask him to indicate perhaps the lines of the survey and the questions it should investigate.

Another point of his speech I should like to hear further elucidated concerns how and in what way information should be given that will tend to the limiting of this remarkable but menacing increase in the population.

Sir George Newman suggested that if India only chose, she could attack the problems of leprosy, plague, and cholera as effectually as we in this country did. But unfortunately Sir John Megaw's address suggests the conclusion that if India did that, they would only make the problem worse, because instead of adding ten millions to the population in ten years, if the enormous present mortality was decreased, they might add twenty millions.

Therefore I think all he has said suggests this: that the whole problem of population in India turns round the question of how the increase of population can be slowed down. As Sir John said, there are various ways of birth control. It may be through celibacy or postponement of the age of marriage, but when the problem comes in a concrete form to a doctor working in India, is the doctor, if he is working in the Government service, now at liberty to tell a woman whose health necessitates it, how she can prevent having another child? And if not, does he not think that the first constructive step the Government should take is to make it plain that it is not only the right of a doctor to give such advice, but his duty? I would like to know this. What should be the exact lines of this survey, assuming you have a Government courageous enough to carry out its recommendations?

My second question is, what does the Government at present do in this matter of encouraging information on birth control?

Does Sir John agree with a very interesting remark in the Report of the Census Commissioner, Dr. Hutton, to this effect, that it is doubtful whether the luxury of Baby Weeks in India should be longer permitted unless they are accompanied by information in methods of contraception. Are Government medical agencies and hospitals now permitted to give that information, and if not, is that not the very first step, that the Governments in India must surely face up to the question? Can they see any way of solving the economic difficulty, the frightful pressure of population upon the means of subsistence or all the questions that arise out of child marriage and bad midwifery, and so on, unless they are willing to grasp the nettle in both hands and permit and encourage their accredited representa-

tives in India—doctors, nurses, midwives, teachers—to give the information to the people which is requisite for their health; information about methods of contraception where the health of the woman requires it; information as to why child marriage is detrimental to health; active work to improve conditions of midwifery; information as to the detrimental effects of purdah in its extreme forms.

The real obstacle is that the moment a Government or Governments find that information on any of these subjects is likely to cause offence in any quarter, however intellectually contemptible, or to arouse agitation in any quarter, immediately they subside and a policy of hush-hush prevails, and their representatives are not allowed to speak the truth to the people even when every intelligent man or woman knows that the knowledge of that truth is essential if these evils, which are cutting at the vitals of the Indian people—over-population, child marriage, and so on—are to be stopped.

Dr. T. T. THOMSON : In rising to represent a missionary body, I have not had time to obtain representative views from the various societies, and I really stand here because I have been privileged to live and work in the Madras Presidency and in the Mysore State for about twenty-five years, and perhaps to some extent can represent the views of the medical missions working in India. We thank you, sir, and the Association for giving us the opportunity and the honour of representing some views here this afternoon.

We really plead guilty to Sir John Megaw's accusation of helping to bring on this "population crisis" in India, because the medical missionaries in the various hospitals that they seek to manage with the very efficient help of Indian Christian doctors, do all they can to make people alive out there, and to keep those who are alive still more alive, whether they are diseased or weaklings, or strong and simply needing surgical attention. But still that is the duty of medical men all over the world.

I will divide my remarks into two headings. First, with regard to restricting the population. Some aspects of birth control are taught in our mission hospitals, where occasion arises, by those who are competent to deal with the subject. In the matter of voluntary sterilization also we are able to give advice. Quite often when we get patients coming for the Cæsarean operation, we are able to give that advice, and if the patients or their friends accept it, sterilization is performed. We could cite many cases where that has been done, and where life has been made much happier for the whole family after voluntary sterilization has been performed. These cases might be called extreme, but, in a population of three hundred and fifty millions, they are unfortunately all too common. Delayed marriage is a matter I should like to refer to, because I think it would be correct to say that in the Christian community the average ages of cohabitation and the birth of the first child are about two years higher than the figures Sir John Megaw mentioned, fourteen and sixteen. In the Christian community I think the figures could be put at sixteen for cohabitation and eighteen for the birth of the first child.

It seems to me from my experience in India that this matter is most

urgent with the rural population. After all, 90 per cent. of the people of India live in the villages. The educated Indian knows by education and by his own common sense that delayed marriage is important not only to the mother but for the health of the offspring, and for the mother that at the tender age of sixteen she should not bear her first child. I think it is therefore not amongst the educated Indians that we need to stress the subjects of birth control and delayed marriage or even voluntary sterilization, but amongst the vast masses of India, the uneducated in the villages. That is being striven for in our various high schools, where we teach hygiene and biological education. We are training nurses, and we do not mind if those nurses whom we train get married, because they take with them the knowledge of childbirth into the villages.

I pass on to the second heading, how to support the existing population. There are not the ravages of famine, pestilence, and war, fortunately, that existed in past generations. Missionaries are out to help Indians in as understanding a way as possible and with goodwill to assist them to plan a more effective life—that “life planning” which is so lacking in the Indian village. Agriculture must be improved and brought up to date, and farmers and field workers taught accordingly. One method of imparting such instruction is through rural reconstruction centres.

A survey has been undertaken in a small way by the missionary bodies in India along the lines of co-operation in rural community work. The rural uplift is stated to be of the very essence of the Gospel of Christ, and therefore an integral part of the Christian message. Interest in rural problems has been stimulated by the Royal Commission on Agriculture, referred to by Sir John. The heart of the matter is quoted by him from the Commission's report.

Interest has also been stimulated by the work of Mr. Brayne in rural uplift at Gurgaon, the Moga School, in relating education to rural needs, by the development of co-operative credit societies, and by the work of men like K. T. Paul, Samuel Higginbotham, and others. Dr. Butterfield, the counsellor on rural work of the International Missionary Council, gave the idea of the Rural Reconstruction Unit, which is thus defined : “A Rural Reconstruction Unit is a group of contiguous villages, ten or fifteen in number, in which as full a programme as possible of rural reconstruction service shall be made available to all the people. All agencies for education, health, economic and social progress will be urged to pool their efforts, through some form of Community Council, in an attempt to get the people to co-operate in building a new type of Indian rural community. The Church must lead this endeavour to make the enterprise thoroughly Christian in spirit.”

An International Missionary Conference, which met in Jerusalem four years ago, added in their Report : “The only practicable way is to select suitable reconstruction centres, and demonstrate in them an intensive form of work that may eventually spread over wide areas, as the Church grows in power and influence.”

That has been put into practice within the last three years, and there are about a dozen of these Rural Reconstruction Centres working now in India

with very real benefit. Our efforts as a missionary body are comparatively small, but we seek to help and to forward the great example which the Government of India has shown, the rule of justice which has been brought into India. Our medical missions supplement the magnificent work of the Indian Medical Service, which is manned by both Europeans and Indians.

Sir LEONARD ROGERS : I have listened with somewhat mingled feelings to the paper of my old friend Sir John Megaw, because I cannot help wondering if, after having spent my life in finding new forms of treatment and prevention of cholera, dysentery, liver abscess, etc., I might not have been better employed in finding a lethal gas which would put the excess population out of their misery. However, as I have often felt that one of the greatest disappointments of a research worker is that when he does make discoveries they can rarely be applied in India on any large scale, because the majority of the people live in villages where they cannot obtain or afford to employ a medical man, so I now have the consolation that I have not saved as many people as I might otherwise have done.

We control epidemics to a large extent, but I am not sanguine as to the control of all cholera outbreaks. We have not had very big epidemics lately owing to good monsoons; so we have been very fortunate in recent years. In the famine years 1875 and 1892 and 1900 we had big cholera epidemics, which are likely to recur under similar conditions.

The greatest Viceroy I have served under, Lord Curzon, showed his wisdom in taking up the question of improving agriculture. He started the Agricultural College at Pusa to improve food supplies. That is the best way to deal with the problem, as what we want to do is to increase our food supplies for this increased population, and this is gradually being done.

Sir John Megaw referred to that panacea of all our ills—education. That, of course, is a very wise and safe thing to fall back on. We do really want in India a great extension of the primary education which now is being attempted. But to find money for that we shall have to curtail the education of the enormous number of people turned out of the Indian Universities who can find no work to do.

The real crux of the question is finance. That fact was brought out very well some years ago by my old friend Sir William Osler, who wrote a letter to a medical journal, saying that in Panama at a cost of only £1 per head malaria had been nearly stamped out, so why could not this be also done in India?

I wrote to my friend to point out that in India, in my time, in an ordinary small municipality, the yearly income was one rupee per head, rs. 4d. a year, and for that they had to keep up the roads, hospitals, and sanitation, and carry on education. There is one hopeful point for Sir John Megaw : he had many conversations with the members of the Legislative Council in India to inoculate his ideas into their minds. So let us hope that our legislators will now turn their hands to some practical method of working out this problem, which will be of much more benefit to their fellow-countrymen than the showers of rhetoric in which they indulge.

SIR ALBION BANERJI : This to my mind is one of those happy and helpful occasions when we are privileged, under the auspices of the East India Association, to listen to an address given by a distinguished public servant from India on a subject which is non-controversial and non-political.

I must add my word of tribute to the author of the paper for the lucidity with which he has explained the vast complexity of the problem connected with the population of India. He has not been critical towards the Government of India nor towards the people of India, and I dare say, if he had attempted to do so, he would have found much that he could have said in those directions. He has been most sympathetic, and has touched those vital points which relate to our social and economic life. The statistics he has quoted give much food for thought; for instance, this vast increase at the rate of thirty-five millions per decade, the annual increase of five millions, and by deduction from those figures—namely, one million six hundred thousand—which we lose per annum, bring to our minds many problems for which it is very difficult to find an immediate solution.

To my mind the increase in the population of India is due to peace and tranquillity and security of life, brought about by British rule and the slightly higher standard of living amongst all classes. It is not, as Charles Pell has said in his standard work on the subject, by the working of the law, "The higher the grade, the slower the reproduction." But the effective increase is not recorded at any stage, either during the census operations or during the periodical registration of vital statistics in the rural parts of India, for which we District Officers were responsible. The unfit and the sick disappear at each successive stage, and so the very large increase in the population need not alarm us to the extent that it otherwise would do.

Further I venture to say that the vital statistics returns of India are the most unreliable of all the statistics prepared by the Government. I would give you my own experience while I was serving in the Tanjore district, a fairly healthy district and most populous. Cholera was raging in three parts of the district, and carried away thousands of people. For the period relating to a quarter succeeding the months when cholera was raging, the return had to be prepared by the clerks in the Collector's office, and when the returns were submitted the very clever Brahmin clerk, who was a graduate in mathematics, repeated the figures of the previous quarter. These mistakes do occur, and I venture to think that our vital statistics returns, in spite of the fact that registration is compulsory, are most unreliable, so we need not be too alarmed at these enormous figures that are shown under the increase of births, of infant mortality, or the increase of deaths.

I would also like to say that in matriarchal states the increase goes with economic growth, whereas in backward localities the population is stationary or decreases, and such a tendency is due to infanticide, poverty, and disease. In Kashmir, for instance, tuberculosis and venereal disease are prevalent amongst the small population of three and a half millions to an alarming extent. In India we cannot say with any certainty that every mouth has got a pair of hands to work for it. In some parts of India that is so; in most parts of India it is not the case.

Nor is it possible for us to find out the effective vitality of the people of India from the statistics, the reports of hospitals, or of the public health department. The only rough-and-ready way to find that out would be to adopt the formula of Rubens, who said, Take the square of the death-rate and divide it by the birth-rate. If you do that you will find that the effective vitality of the people of India to-day is extremely low.

Community and caste groups are fettered by customs of birth and marriage. Hence infant mortality shows no signs of decrease, in spite of the spread of education and improved public health administration.

I agree most heartily to the suggestions as to remedies proposed by the learned author of the paper. I would add that no National Government in India could apply all these remedies, and a great deal will depend upon the people acting in co-operation with the Government. We cannot expect to have in India dictatorships as in Russia, Germany, or Italy.

The raising of the age of consent of or the age of marriageable girls, thus decreasing the number of immature mothers, to my mind will touch only the fringe of the problem. Natural conditions cannot be altered. For instance, in India 36 per cent. of girls attain the age of puberty at thirteen, as against 10 per cent. in Europe. I would therefore suggest that in addition to the remedies that have been proposed, we Indians should also very sincerely consider the following measures : (1) Reform of our social system; (2) the emancipation of our women, who for the most part are unwilling mothers; and (3) the increase of agricultural production to reduce the percentage of half-fed.

I may say with a certain amount of confidence that the estimate given by Sir William Hunter in the eighties as regards the half-fed population in India still remains good through the length and breadth of the country. We should also have eugenic education, and, furthermore, propaganda for birth control and the prevention of venereal disease. We should have clinics, and I may say with great pride that Mysore has been the first part of India to introduce clinics for birth control.

In this country we have had recently a cinema picture called "Damaged Lives," and I believe that it has produced a deep impression upon the people. We should have similar cinema propaganda in regard to tuberculosis, malaria, venereal disease and birth control. I may add that the prediction of Malthus, that the world will die of starvation if reproduction is unrestrained, may be well kept in view, for though we need not be too pessimistic, we are face to face in India with a grave danger on account of the spread of disease and want of education. If India is confronted with this population problem without finding a solution to mitigate its evil effects, the destruction of our whole population and culture will have to be prevented with all the earnestness and sincerity at our command.

SIR JOHN MEGAW : I am sorry that Sir George Newman has had to leave for a lecturing engagement. I wish to thank him for the kind words that he said about me. I agree with him that I have placed you under a debt of gratitude, but perhaps not for the same reasons as he gave. I think that the speech of Sir George Newman and the subsequent discussion have been

of so interesting a nature that you really ought to be grateful to me for having been the cause of bringing them about. I was rather pleased at Sir George's optimistic outlook with regard to the problem of India. I think there really are grounds for optimism in spite of the extreme difficulties of the problem.

Miss Rathbone laid about me in good earnest. She rather ingenuously produced a stick and placed it in my hand, with the suggestion that I should proceed to beat the Government with it. Miss Rathbone knows quite well that I am not allowed to beat the Government, but, even if I were, I would be inclined to suggest to her that she attaches too much importance to what Governments can do in matters of this kind. You will find, if Government indulges in legislation which is in advance of the public opinion and public demand, very little benefit results from it.

This is a case for stirring up public opinion, and when public opinion is stirred up, then Government, I have not the slightest doubt, will respond to the demand of public opinion. I think if Government were so ill-advised as to introduce advanced legislation of the kind that I personally would like to see introduced and Miss Rathbone would like to see introduced, the probability is that the result would be much the same as in the case of prohibition in America and the Sarda Act.

The same thing applies to Miss Rathbone's very pertinent criticism about Baby Weeks. There again you cannot go in advance of public opinion. I quite agree that we are promoting the increase of the population by saving life and by preventing disease. We ought at the same time to recognize the absolute necessity for applying a counterpoise by regulating the flow of babies. If you do not do that, every biologist knows you will get over-population and starvation. But that, again, is a thing that cannot be controlled by Government. It must be done by the expression of public opinion, and I think that what we want to do is to educate the public not to confine themselves to throwing stones at Government and suggesting that the whole blame is theirs.

I was very interested to hear from Dr. Thompson what the missionaries are doing. They can be of very great assistance in this matter. I have been rather inclined to be critical of what they have done in the past. The problem is one which some of the missionary bodies have been a little nervous about tackling. What one feels is that the missionaries have had an opportunity of building up in India an example of what can be done in the matter of life planning. They can help tremendously by teaching their followers how to plan their lives in such a way as to have not only spiritual advantages but physical advantages, such as they themselves enjoy in their homes in England. I have felt that the missionaries might have done more in that direction, and I am pleased to hear from Dr. Thomson that this aspect of missionary work is being kept fully in mind by the missionaries today.

I am sorry that Sir Leonard Rogers has left the meeting, because he was the one person who really did attack me in good earnest by suggesting that if you believed what I told you, you would shut down all medical and public health work. This is a superficial criticism which has been directed against

my talks on this very subject over and over again. I want to make it particularly clear that I think there is a great and increasing need for disease prevention. My one point is that public health work in India will be deprived of its just reward if the other aspects of the case are not borne in mind. You cannot possibly have a satisfactory condition of public life in India if you have a population which is in excess of the production of the country.

Sir Leonard was perfectly sound when he said that we had to attack the problem by increasing production. I agree entirely with that view, but I say if you do that you have to attend to the other aspect of the case, because if you merely increase production the population very rapidly swells and increases to the same degree as your production, the result being that you have a larger number of people, but they will not be any healthier or better off than they were before. He talked about the cost of introducing the kind of education which was needed. My suggestion is that very large sums of money are being spent on education already, and I claim that if a proportion of the money, say one-third, were spent on enlightening the people in the subject of life planning, you would get excellent results.

I thank Sir Albion Banerji for the kind remarks that he made about me. I agree with him that the statistics in India are not reliable. We all know that very well, but taking them in the bulk they do stand the test fairly well. In the village survey of which I spoke, I deliberately introduced some questions dealing with the infant mortality rate and various other things, and I was rather surprised to find that the result of my broad survey made by the men on the spot corresponded fairly closely in most respects with the statistics which are published by the Public Health Commissioner. I agree very heartily with the suggestions that Sir Albion made of other lines of reform that are needed. I hope that if I have succeeded in doing nothing else, I have at any rate aroused a little interest in this very great and pressing problem, and in the necessity for thinking about it, and still more for doing something about it.

SIR JAMES MCKENNA, speaking from the Chair, said : I now have the pleasant duty of proposing a very hearty vote of thanks to Sir George Newman—whose shadow I am—for presiding, and to Sir John Megaw for his exceedingly interesting and human paper. During the many years I spent in India there was nothing that struck me more than the remarkable work done by the Indian Research Fund's officers, of which group Sir John Megaw was a most distinguished member, followed up by the extremely efficient services of the Public Health Departments of the various provinces. There is nothing spectacular about this work. It is done by very modest workers, who do not parade their goods in the shop window. But there is nothing that makes a greater impression upon the intelligent and inquiring visitor to India.

Sir John has given us the sort of paper one would have expected from a man of his standing, and the Association is extremely fortunate in having obtained his services to-night, combined with the distinguished Chairman, for whom apparently we have to thank Sir John Megaw too. We are also

particularly pleased to have with us the Under-Secretary of State for India, Mr. Butler, a name which is well known all over the Indian Continent. I now ask you formally to record a very hearty vote of thanks to Sir George Newman and to Sir John Megaw.

The motion was carried by acclamation, and the meeting closed.

NEPAL AND HER RELATIONS TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT*

By HUGH WILKINSON-GUILLEMARD, C.S.I., C.I.E.

THE country that is to be discussed this evening is commonly spoken of as "Nepal, the land of the Gurkhas." The inhabitants use the word "Nepal" for the capital, Káthmándú, almost exclusively—perhaps disgusted that Mr. Kipling and other English people pronounce it Káthmándú. The word "Gurkha" is not used at all. There is a town named Gorkha, three or four marches west of Káthmándú, and "Gorkhális" are descendants of those who came to the present capital with the conqueror, Prithvi Narayan, in the second half of the eighteenth century. We need not, however, be bound by the nomenclature of the inhabitants. They still speak of British India as "Mughalán," the land of the Mughals, and of British Government rupees as "Company" rupees. We can safely use the words Nepal and Gurkha in the sense familiar to us.

I wish to remark at the outset that I am sure that I am voicing the sentiment of everyone present when I say that we feel real grief and most genuine sympathy with Nepal in the calamity which the earthquake has brought upon her Royal Family, her people, and her beautiful buildings.

Nepal has an area of about 54,000 square miles—that is to say, it is slightly larger than Greece or England without Wales, but about 60 per cent. greater than Austria, Scotland, or Portugal, and more than four times the size of Belgium. The population is about $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions—slightly less than that of Sweden, slightly greater than that of Scotland, nearly 80 per cent. of that of Australia, and four times that of New Zealand.

The country is roughly a rectangle, 500 miles long, 120 broad. It consists of four zones running roughly east and west—and of

* Based on an Address at a Discussion Meeting of Members of the East India Association on March 21, 1934.

the well-known "Valley of Nepal." The southernmost zone runs along the north of the United Provinces and Bihar, and forms part of the stale, flat, but very profitable Gangetic plain, called by the Nepalese the Terai. North of the Gangetic plain comes the dense forest belt, which we call the Terai but the Nepalese do not. This provides tigers and rhinoceros for the reigning and ruling families and their guests (among whom the British Envoy is the most frequent). It also produces a valuable supply of sál wood timber used for building and railway sleepers. Under the management of a British Forest Officer lent to the Nepal Government (I speak of five years ago), this used to yield an annual revenue of over £50,000.

The forest belt is infested with a most deadly type of malaria, known as *awal*. North of it is a belt of sandstone hills, rising to about 3,000 feet, cut up by watercourses and of little value.

The remainder of the country is a tumbled mass of hills and valleys, irrigated by snow-fed rivers, becoming less and less fertile as they approach the final Himalayan barrier, which forms the frontier with Tibet and contains Mount Everest and many other giant peaks.

THE VALLEY AND THE PEOPLE

Almost in the centre of the Kingdom occurs the remarkable phenomenon of the "Valley of Nepal," an elevated table-land about 250 square miles in area. About 4,500 feet above sea-level, 2,500 feet above the surrounding valleys, it is itself shut in by a circle of mountains rising to 9,000 feet. No snow-fed river enters it. In it are Káthmándú, Bhátgáon, and Pátan, the three capitals of three former dynasties of Newár kings, who reigned simultaneously. The second of these is only eight miles from the other two, which are less than two miles apart. The valley is free from malaria, venomous snakes, and drought. Intensive cultivation (all by hand, for there are no plough bullocks) yields two bountiful crops annually (chiefly vegetables in the winter, maize and rice in the summer). At Káthmándú and Pátan are the great white modern palaces of the aristocracy, at Káthmándú the British Legation, and at all three towns are temples in red brick, tiles, and

carved wood of the highest artistic excellence, the work of the Newárs.

The population of Káthmándú is about 90,000; of the Valley about 300,000. It is the seat of Government, the hub of the Kingdom, whose fate depends entirely on what occurs in the square mile that contains the palaces of the King and Prime Minister, and the barracks in which are lodged most of the efficient troops of the State.

The people of Nepal are intensely religious. There is said to be a temple for every house and a god for every man in the Valley. There are only two religions in Nepal that count—Hinduism and Buddhism. About half the people belong to each. They live amicably side by side, and even worship at one another's shrines. Hinduism is the State religion, and in the end is likely to dominate and absorb. A handful of Mussalmans trade, mainly in the central valley. There is no Christian church. The Italian Roman Catholic mission was expelled at the end of the eighteenth century. The Nepalese then believed in a proverb that "with the Bible comes the bayonet, with the missionary the musket."

The original population was Mongolian. With the Moslem domination in India came the infiltration of Indians—many of them Brahmans and Rajputs, who intermarried with the inhabitants. There is therefore much Indian blood in the country. Many claim pure Rajput descent. The reigning family originated in Mewar and are descendants of the Sesodia family, to which belongs the Maharana of Udaipur, the premier Rajput Prince. The Rajput- and Brahman-descended Nepalese, the Chatis, provide two of our twenty Gurkha battalions. The remainder are Mongolian—Magars and Gurungs from the west, and Rais and Limbus from the north-east, each tribe speaking its own language.

An important section of the population are the Newárs. Their origin is uncertain, probably Mongol. They have by some, perhaps fancifully, been connected with the Nairs of South India. They speak their own language, written in three different scripts. The rulers of the three countries whose capitals were formerly in the Nepal Valley were Newárs. Under them the arts flourished, especially architecture and wood-carving. These have unfortu-

nately died under Gorkháli domination. The Newárs are Budhists and bury their dead. Since the Gorkháli conquest they have been disarmed and debarred from military service. Many are cultivators and they form the bulk of the trading community. Some rise to high rank in Civil Government employ.

PRITHVI NARAYAN

In the past three great personalities have made the history of Nepal. The first was Prithvi Narayan, a Rajput, Raja of Gorkha, the town mentioned above, ancestor of the present king. He conquered the Chaubisia Ráj, the twenty-four rajas of the west, and consolidated his kingdom in the second half of the eighteenth century. Then, profiting by an invitation to render assistance to one of the three Newár kings of the Nepal Valley, who had quarrelled with the other two, he led his army over the passes from the west and entered the Valley. After twenty years of stubborn fighting he conquered the Newárs, who defended themselves with the utmost skill and gallantry, and were only defeated owing to Brahman treachery. One town, Kirtipur, put up a long defence, which so much enraged Prithvi Narayan that he cut off the lips and noses of the defenders, sparing only those who could play wind instruments in his orchestra. The town's name was changed to Naskatipur, "the town of cut noses."

Prithvi Narayan subdued the remainder of the country and combined it almost into what we know as Nepal.

Then followed a period of aggression—invansion of India, conflict with the Sikhs, and the invasion of Sikkim, which led to war with China at the end of the century. The Chinese armies marched 1,400 miles over the Himalayas, and dictated terms at Betravati, twenty-five miles from Káthmándú. Nepal was compelled to acknowledge Chinese suzerainty and to send a quinquennial embassy to Pekin, bearing gifts. This continued till 1912, when it was discontinued on the deposition of the Emperor. Early in the nineteenth century Bihar was invaded and portions annexed. The result was the wars of 1814-16, in which we suffered several defeats before General Ochterlony achieved victory

and imposed terms of peace. One of the most important was the acceptance of a British Resident. From that epoch dates the recruitment of Gurkha regiments for the Indian Army—at first three, now twenty, battalions.

It should be noted that the Gurkha wars were largely caused by Nepal's desire to possess the fertile Gangetic plain. They used to speak of washing their kukris in the Ganges. If there were no co-ordinating and controlling power in India, it is possible that they would talk in the same way again. The Indian army that tried to prevent them would certainly be without its twenty Gurkha battalions.

SIR JUNG BAHADUR

After 1816 there followed a period of thirty years of palace intrigue, civil feuds, cruel systems of misgovernment, and succession by assassination. In 1846 the second great figure of Nepal history rose to the surface, the renowned Jung Bahadur, G.C.B. After the celebrated massacre of the Kot, a palace in which he killed so many of the nobles opposed to him that their blood gushed out into the street, he attained complete domination. Four years later he felt himself secure enough to leave his State. He accepted an invitation to England as the guest of Queen Victoria. He was the lion of the London season, a debonair, dashing figure ablaze with diamonds, of ready wit and engaging personality. He attended the christening of the present Duke of Connaught. On return to Nepal he reformed the administration, abolished mutilation and other barbarous punishments—and forbade *sati*. He refused the Crown. He established the absolute hereditary supremacy of the Prime Minister, and there is some evidence that he even extracted from the King a “lal mohar,” or red-seal decree, giving him power to set aside the orders of his sovereign. In 1857 he led 10,000 of his troops down into India to fight on our side in the Mutiny. Standards captured from the enemy are still on view in the Military Museum at Káthmándú. Nepal was rewarded by the restoration of the rich territory, yielding £50,000 annual revenue, which had been ceded to us after the Gurkha wars of 1814-15. Jung Bahadur entertained King Edward as

Prince of Wales some twenty years later, giving him a tiger shoot in the Terai.

THE CONSTITUTION

The existing constitution of the Kingdom is mainly the creation of Jung Bahadur. The reigning sovereign is the Maharaja Dhiraj, the "Panch-Sarkar," or "five Governments," the King of Nepal. We recognize his title of Your Majesty. Ladies curtsey to him. At Darbars he arrives last and departs first, and sits on a high throne with the Royal Princes' chairs between it and the sofa of the Prime Minister. He rides in a gold and silver howdah, and has a golden umbrella on State occasions. He never leaves the country. In its government he has no power whatever. The King's descent is by primogeniture. He is generally a young man.

The real ruler, the absolute autocrat of the country, is His Highness the Maharaja, Prime Minister, Marshal, and Supreme Commander-in-Chief, the "Tin Sarkar," or "three Governments." His State umbrella is silver, and his State howdah of plush only, but his sons, like the King's, are born generals. Inscriptions on public buildings commemorate not only the Sovereign, but the Prime Minister also. He has the power of declaring war and is head of all departments of State. Once a year he reappoints every official, from the Commander-in-Chief downwards. All relations with the British Government are conducted by him. Parallels in history are the Maires of the Palace in France, the Peshwas of Poona, and the Shoguns, who held similar powers in Japan from A.D. 966-1868.

In Nepal the succession to the Prime Ministership is hereditary, but not by primogeniture. It passes to the senior male member of the ruling family who is not unfit. Consequently the Prime Minister is always a man of riper years than the King.

There is also a Council of Bharadars or Nobles, meeting when summoned. Their full strength is perhaps 400. They are mainly members of the reigning and ruling families, who form the great majority of the aristocracy. They probably have little voice in affairs, and confine themselves to giving advice which is

likely to be palatable. There is no representation of the people, who do not concern themselves with politics.

It is now very generally realized that the status of Nepal is that of an absolutely independent kingdom. She is in no sense whatever an Indian State. She is as independent as Belgium or Portugal. There is nothing to prevent her from becoming a member of the League of Nations or from sending representatives to any Court in the world, except the good sense that tells her that the cost would be enormous and the advantages *nil*.

The British representative is an Envoy, not a Resident. He lives in a legation, not a residency. On appointment he presents credentials, as our diplomatic representatives in other countries do. His relations with the Nepal Government (which we never speak of as the Nepal "Darbar") are purely diplomatic. He has no concern whatever with the administration.

BRITISH POLICY

What is our policy towards Nepal? A complete answer to this question was given by Sir Denys Bray in the aphorism, "We have no policy towards Nepal, only friendship." This friendship has subsisted unbroken since 1816, and is now stronger than ever.

By way of parenthesis may I refer to the frequent question as to why, if Nepal is our friend, she excludes our nationals from her territory and makes herself a closed land? Her attitude has been much misunderstood, but it is completely natural and reasonable and consistent with friendship. In the first place, she sees what has happened in India, and has observed that in the past penetration has led to influence, interference, domination, and even annexation. Secondly, she has heard of Sir Lee Stack and goes in fear that something may happen to the British Envoy or other foreign national if allowed to wander at large in wild places. Thirdly, she knows that Europeans on tour, especially if guests among a hospitable people, must have copious supplies, transport, and attendance, which it is difficult to provide in a poor, sparsely-populated country, where every able-bodied man is re-

quired for the army or agriculture. Lastly, as it has been the tradition for so long that foreigners should be kept out, any Government which abandoned that tradition might be suspected by an ignorant people, who would think that by a change of practice they intended a change of policy, and were betraying them.

SIR CHANDRA SHUMSHERE JUNG

The subject of our present relations with Nepal brings us to the third great personality in her past history, His Highness the Maharaja Sir Chandra Shumshere. He was Prime Minister from 1901 to 1929, and was therefore for twenty-eight years, in effect, Nepal. He was a truly great man and a real statesman. Personally, he was courteous, cultivated in the best sense of the word, of charming manners and address, well educated (he was B.A. of an Indian University), well-informed, and possessed of a keen sense of humour and capacity for friendship and gratitude.

As ruler of the State he was a benefactor to his people. Although he founded a well-equipped college at the capital and allowed his subjects to proceed to Indian Universities, it has been alleged that he did not expand education sufficiently. In this respect the pace he set was slow, but not because he held to the definition of education as "the casting of false pearls before real swine." He did not despise education, or despise his people, but he said he thought we had been unwise in India in educating people for whom no employment could be found, and determined not to repeat our mistake.

In other matters he was extremely progressive. He improved the water supply of the Nepal Valley and on the great roadways, extended cultivation in the Terai, connected Káthmándú with India by telephone, a motor road, a ropeway, and a railway. He built two large hospitals in the Valley, set on foot an enquiry as to the prevention of malaria (taking the advice of Sir Malcolm Watson of the Ross Institute), began the construction of a sanatorium for tuberculosis, and, not least, liberated, by purchase, the 80,000 slaves of Nepal (I think the number is correct). He restricted gambling, the great vice of the people, and on his deathbed

summoned his relatives and implored them to see to it that the succession should pass peacefully.

His relations with us were unexceptional. For twenty-eight years we were relieved of all anxiety about 500 miles of frontier, and had no need to keep any troops to protect it. Two days before the outbreak of the Great War he told the British representative (then Resident) that, if war broke out, the entire resources of Nepal would be at our disposal. He kept his promise. He raised the number of our Gurkha battalions from twenty to thirty-three, and kept them at full strength in spite of terrible losses in France, Gallipoli, and other theatres of war. He sent over 10,000 Nepalese troops into India to assist us in the third Afghan war.

In the Great War 200,000 Nepalese served in our armies, and a million rupees in cash or kind were given or lent to us—this though Nepal was an independent kingdom and was under no obligation to do more than allow us to recruit for twenty battalions.

After the war we showed our gratitude by undertaking to make an annual present of Rs. 10 lakhs to Nepal. The Prime Minister received a high decoration and the rank of General in the British Army. The Maharaja Dhiraj was recognised as His Majesty the King, and the Prime Minister as His Highness the Maharaja, both new departures. A new treaty was concluded, specifically reaffirming Nepal's external and internal independence, and obliterating all traces of inequality of status. The Resident became the British Envoy and the Residency the British Legation.

Nepal benefited also by the payment of pensions to the Gurkhas who had served in the war, and their dependents. This means a considerable influx of money into the country. According to a rough calculation made in 1927-28, we paid Rs. 25 lakhs a year into the pockets of pensioners living in Nepal.

But Nepal's friendship was perhaps as valuable to us politically in time of peace as her military help was in war. She refused to allow herself to become a refuge of criminals, or the jumping-off ground of political agitators. Had she become a gigantic Pondicherry or Chandernagore we should have had untold trouble along 500 miles of frontier. For her co-operation in this respect we owe her a very deep debt of gratitude.

His successors, his brothers Sir Bhim Shumshere and the present Prime Minister, Sir Judha Shumshere, have followed the same policy, and shown themselves our equally staunch friends. Sir Judha has even departed from the rigidity of previous policy by permitting the land and air expeditions to Mount Everest. He has personally visited Calcutta and exchanged civilities with the Viceroy, and has conferred the honour of the Star of Nepal on some of our officers. At the present moment a deputation is about to visit England to present to King George the highest Nepalese decoration. Clearly we can regard him, too, as a faithful friend.

THE BIHAR EARTHQUAKE

A PERSONAL NARRATIVE

[An eye-witness's impressions. The following account of a tour in the devastated regions was sent in a couple of letters by a young engineer to his parents in England, and is published with their permission.—Ed. A. R.]

SAGAULI.

January 29, 1934.

I AM writing in a grass hut about ten miles from the Nepal frontier and unable to get back to civilization. How I came to be in this predicament I will tell you in due course.

Last Friday afternoon the proprietors of a sugar mill in Sagauli came to me in a panic and asked me to advise them what to do with their factory which had been damaged in the earthquake. As we had put up the buildings for them I felt that we had some responsibility for their welfare.

On Saturday evening I started off and reached Mokameh Ghat early on Sunday morning: here the first evidence of the earthquake was visible in a derelict signal cabin which had one wall left. From Sumeria on the other side of the Ganges our progress was slow, although the damage done was nothing like what I was to see later. Going up the line Barauni was hardly affected, while Samastipore was damaged a good deal. I saw "our" sugar factory from a distance of a quarter of a mile, and the chimney was down and the gable ends had all fallen. The walls were still standing, with how many cracks I could not see, and the corrugated roof on top looked the latest permanent wave. About one o'clock on Sunday I reached Muzaffarpur where the line at present comes to an abrupt end. This town is one of the worst affected and the amount of damage done is appalling. I walked out into the town and did not see a single house intact: in most cases the roofs had fallen leaving parts of the walls standing, something like a house burnt out in a fire. The people have all moved their office furniture out into the open, and in the Government offices one is privileged to see the Government clerk drumming on his typewriter in the full public gaze, while his sahib reclines in a camp chair nearby discussing the news with the passers-by. All the people there are living in tents, but are not suffering much hardship as there is a through railway connection and stores can come up from Calcutta. I left Muzaffarpur as quickly as I could—*i.e.*, in two and a half hours spent in getting a car, almost impossible, and persuading the district officer to give me a pass for

petrol. The last seventy miles of the journey up to the Nepal border was the most adventuresome part. Normally it can be done in two and a half hours; I took seven and reached my destination at midnight, and thought I was lucky to be there even then.

We started off from Muzaffarpur in gay style. The road was a bit bumpy, due to the earthquake, and on either side the country was flooded, like Bengal in the monsoon. Every now and then one came across miniature volcanoes, about three to five feet in diameter, made of sand. These were where the water spouted from the ground carrying up enormous quantities of sand with it, which in some places is lying two feet deep. This ejection of water was, I am told by those who were there, the most terrifying thing about the earthquake. Imagine thousands of these waterspouts and the level of the water slowly rising: people had no idea when it was going to stop and thought that a second flood had come. The demand for ready-made arks must have been enormous; fortunately the water ceased fairly quickly, due to the holes getting choked with sand. The first part of the journey from Muzaffarpur was fairly quick; all the bridges were impassable, but it was possible to get round them as the river-beds were dry; some bridges were still standing, how, I do not know; I examined these carefully, and, having myself got out of the car, allowed the driver to rush across. During this short period I acquired a lifetime's knowledge of the possibilities of bridge failures. The masonry bridges nearly all cracked at the keystone, and in multiple arch bridges it was quite usual for one or two arches to be left standing while the remainder had disappeared completely. Steel bridges stood up the best of the lot; in some cases they were tilted in the air six or eight feet, but there were no signs of failure of the steel and usually very little distortion had taken place. Unfortunately I only had the opportunity of examining small span girder bridges, which, of course, are stiffer than the lattice type which would probably have crumpled. One curious bridge, which is worthy of mention, consisted of four spans of thirty feet; the three masonry piers in the river had disappeared but the abutments still stood. The only thing holding the bridge was the trough decking and the road metal on top; the deck had sagged about six feet in the centre and looked exactly like a suspension bridge. We dashed across this at full speed and got safely to the other side. After this it got dark and driving was very dangerous as the road in places was fissured with enormous cracks, some of which were three or four feet wide, and we had some narrow escapes in avoiding them. Just before reaching Motihari, in the words of the song, "We came to a river and we couldn't get across." The

stream was about three hundred feet wide and the bridge consisting of brick arches had completely disappeared, carrying with it several bullock carts and their drivers. The shock here was so great that even the trees had been uprooted in the neighbourhood. When one thinks of the force required to pull a palm up by its roots one can realize what a stupendous shock it must have been. Eventually I got hold of a country boat and after much cursing got the car across the river. We then came to Motihari by night, and truly it was a "city of dreadful night." The town was in complete ruins and practically deserted; it looked as though it had been subjected to an artillery barrage, and the stench of putrefying bodies was horrible. After leaving Motihari we ran into a swamp while trying to cross a dry river-bed, and the car went in over the differential. I was too tired to bother much about it at this stage, and was quite resigned to spending the night there. However, the driver collected a gang of men and laid bamboos across and by half-past eleven got away again. After this there were no more incidents and we arrived safely at the Sagauli sugar factory just after twelve.

Of course, by that time they had given me up and there was no dinner ready; even if they had known I was arriving I should not have got much as the supplies of food were very low—no bread, no soda water, no tinned provisions, only a few moorghis. The bungalows there were all uninhabitable and I eventually slept in a grass hut on a charpoy. Needless to say, I had not come unprepared, having brought up a case of provisions from the Army and Navy Stores; the whisky was greatly appreciated and unfortunately has nearly run dry now. We have no sodas, but we get boiled water scooped from holes in the ground.

On the Monday I made an examination of the factory, and found that the shell which was supported entirely on steel columns had stood very well. The foundations had lifted or subsided in some cases two feet with the result that the roof was something like a dog's hind leg, but there was no serious damage. The real damage had been done to the mill foundations, which had been cracked in two pieces. The foundation was a solid block of brickwork about fifty feet by fifty feet by ten feet deep weighing about 2,000 tons.

The mill proprietors, who are Indian, had been advised that no repair could be effected, and that the best course was to remove the whole mill to another site at a cost of about 4 lakhs of rupees. I have now advised them to chip away the crack and grout it up solid, and in order to prevent settlement which has taken place—due, in my opinion, to the sand coming up from under the foundations and to the subsoil water level rising—I have suggested that they should drill holes through the foundation and

carry pipes to the soil below and grout in with liquid cement so as to form a solid bed. This will cost about 20,000 rupees, but I have offered no guarantee of its efficacy. One of the difficulties is with subsoil water which, due to the earthquake, has risen to within three or four feet of the ground, whether permanently or not I do not know. As the soil is very clayey its bearing capacity when wet is considerably reduced, so that I have advised them to dig sumps all round the foundation and try to lower the level gradually by pumping. By the time the mill is working I am hoping the ground below will be drier and thus able to withstand the heavy loads.

My inspection and report filled up the whole of Monday and I thought I would get back to Muzaffarpur on Tuesday, but it was not to be. Rain began to fall on Monday and now the road is impassable and I am stranded here with nothing to do. I have offered anything for a car or other means of locomotion, but nothing is forthcoming.

MUZAFFARPUR.*February 4, 1934.*

My last letter was written to you from Sagauli, when the rain was coming down and obliterating the landscape. Since then I have been wandering about a lot and have seen many strange sights, indicating the magnitude of the Bihar earthquake.

I left Sagauli on Wednesday last, as the rain had cleared off and the road was just passable. By midday I reached Bara-Chakia, following the same route as I had come up by, and called on Beatson, the manager of the Champaran sugar factory. I already knew him as I had stayed with him about eighteen months ago at the time when they built a bridge across the Gandak river for bringing in cane. After putting back a good tiffin and uttering the usual condolences about the state of his factory I pushed on to Muzaffarpur, arriving there in the evening. I found our agent Fairweather out, and his bungalow was a complete ruin, just as though a shell had dropped on it. His office, although badly cracked, was just intact, but not safe enough to sleep in. There was a curious collection in this compound : Mr. and Mrs. Corbett, neighbours, whose bungalow had collapsed, were living in the garage; the latter was caught by a falling beam during the earthquake and had a broken ankle as well as a nasty head wound. The Corbetts had a grown-up daughter, who slept in their car, and three children, who slept in a mat shed. Fairweather's typist slept in another car, while a Burma Shell man had pitched his tent in the compound. I added myself to this motley collection, sleeping in a very draughty wigwam; it was bitterly cold at night and I was nearly frozen. On the Thursday I met our old friend

Noel Deerr, who is rushing about from one factory to another endeavouring to put things right. He asked me to visit Samastipur, Ryam, and Champaran and submit tenders for their reconstruction where necessary.

Accordingly on Friday I set out for Champaran and found there that they had decided to make extensions, but did not know what they would be! I therefore left and went to Samastipur, arriving there late in the evening, having done 110 miles by car. This does not sound much, but with the roads and bridges as they are now it is equal to about 300 at home. Saturday: I spent the whole day making measurements at Samastipur and writing my results to Howrah. These ran to eleven pages of foolscap, so you can imagine there was a fair amount of work to do. I regret to say that Samastipur is badly damaged, and it is very doubtful if it will run again this season. The repairs to the buildings will, I reckon, cost somewhere about a lakh, and in addition there is a fair amount to be done to the machinery, probably Rs. 2 lakhs in all. I was very comfortable at Samastipur and stayed there two nights with the manager and his wife. I had a commodious tent to sleep in and in the day used the bungalow, which was cracked badly and hence considered unsafe to sleep in. On Saturday evening Noel Deerr turned up with a good dose of malaria; he was very much under the weather and has been overdoing this last three weeks. On Sunday he left for Calcutta, where he remains one day, and then returns to Cawnpore. On Sunday morning I left for Ryam, about 50 miles from Samastipur by car. This factory has not suffered much, and I was able to measure up the damage in an hour and a half. As I had the whole afternoon left I decided to try and reach Chakia by night. This is 115 miles from Ryam by car. I returned to Samastipur by car, and was so tired of the jolting that I took the train to Muzaffarpur, as it was fortunately standing in the station. I arrived there about 7.30 p.m. and the remaining 35 miles I have decided to do tomorrow, as these roads are no joke in the dark. I am intending to sleep in the waiting-room here, and I shall retire to my bed very shortly as I feel I have had a good day of it. The last week has been rather hectic and I am tired of earthquakes and their attendant discomforts. I have hardly slept two nights in the same place, and when I start in the morning I do not usually know where I shall land up in the evening.

In Darbhanga, which I passed through today, the district officer, endeavouring to allay the fears of the panic-stricken people, had printed a pamphlet in which it was stated that the cause of the earthquake was the gradual movement of the Indian Peninsula towards the Himalayas. This was squeezing up the Gangetic plain and had caused the earthquake. The crack, it was stated,

extended from Sitamarhi to Monghyr. There was a previous earthquake in 1833, and it is predicted there will be another in one hundred years. The minor shocks, which we get quite frequently, are due to the earth settling. After examining a fairly large part of the disturbed tracts I have come to the conclusion that the most terrific upheavals have occurred in Muzaffarpur. As I mentioned in my last letter, the whole town is a ruin, but just outside the town on the polo ground the cracking has been tremendous. The road there is rent with fissures six feet wide and the ground has dropped six feet; this does not sound much but the damage is unbelievable.

(Scenes of the earthquake will be found in the illustrated supplement.)

POVERTY AND PUBLIC HEALTH IN INDIA

By R. W. BROCK

In his final report as Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India, an appointment he has sustained with great ability and devotion since 1924, Major-General J. D. Graham, I.M.S., recalls—not inopportune in view of the further momentous constitutional changes now under consideration—that with the passing of the Government of India Act of 1919, the introduction of the Montagu Reforms and the commencement of the working of the rules framed under the Act in 1921, public health and sanitation were, with certain reservations, transferred from the Central Government to the Governments of the various provinces. A Ministry of Health or Board of Health was not provided for in this change, and consequently does not exist; but those activities of public health and prevention of disease which have been reserved by the Central Government are carried on through the Department of Education, Health and Lands of the Government of India. In accordance with the Government of India Act of 1919, the health subjects which were reserved for the Central Government were: (1) International health affairs; (2) wider aspects of epidemiology; (3) census and statistics; (4) emigration and immigration; (5) pilgrim traffic *ex-India*; (6) major port quarantine work; (7) medical research; (8) legislation in regard to any provincial subject stated to be subject to legislation by the Indian Legislature and any powers relating to such subjects reserved by legislation to the Governor-General in Council. As Major-General Graham observes, it is extremely improbable that such subjects as those named, which are generally recognized as federal health responsibilities, will cease, under the new Constitution, to be the concern of the Central Government and of its Public Health Commissioner. In the Report under review, as in preceding surveys of the same character, Major-General Graham has "laboured the desirability and need for a Ministry of Health for India. The recent reports of the Royal Commission on Agriculture and of the Royal Statutory Commission," as he reminds us, "have emphasized the same need whether this be arrived at through a Ministry of Health or by strengthening the central health organization. We are now," he adds, "within measurable distance of the introduction of a new Constitution—a Constitution which must presuppose heavy and increased expenditure in many branches of the administration;

but the subject of federal health has been relegated, meanwhile at all events, to the background, and has not received the attention which its importance would seem to merit. This is no doubt due to some extent to the eclipse which threatened to overtake central health in the campaign of retrenchment when recommendations both undesirable and apparently unnecessary were made in regard to personnel which were bound to impede if not strangle certain developments then in progress."

Inadequate financial support has, indeed, proved one of the most formidable handicaps to the promotion of public health in India. The drastic economies of the Inchcape Committee paralyzed the renewal of research activities on a big scale before the work of the Indian Research Fund Association had had time to recover properly after the war. Public opinion, however, both in Great Britain and India, and scientific medical opinion in India as expressed through the Scientific Advisory Board, were not silent. His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, realizing the true implications of the closing down of medical research activities in India, pressed the Government of India continuously to restore the grant in part or in whole at as early a date as possible, and also the unspecified appointments in the Medical Research Department which were in abeyance. The Scientific Advisory Board in October, 1924, homologated the following resolution of the Research Workers' Conference of the same date :

This Conference has heard from members of the pressing need of investigation into malaria, plague, cholera, dysentery, helminthiasis, relapsing fever, and other diseases which affect the people of India, and of the need of investigation into the distribution, prevalence, treatment, and prevention of these diseases.

In deference to the demand for resuscitation of the grant-in-aid, the Government gradually restored both the grant and the appointments which were in abeyance, thus enabling the Governing Body to approve a rapid and wide development of medical research on a priority programme as well as to recruit expert workers from outside sources, including Europe and America. "All-India" researches on a priority plan were started on plague, cholera, kala-azar, malaria, helminthology, indigenous drugs, drug addiction, skin, statistics, leprosy, rabies, and, later on, maternity and child welfare, anaemia and other subjects. In a short time, between fifty and sixty researches were in progress under Europeans and Indians. Alas! "When the stage was apparently set for a wide development of medical research the financial crisis of 1931 suddenly deprived the Association of 6 lakhs of rupees out of a 7.50 lakh grant," and only the existence of accumulated funds enabled "a moderately full programme of research" to be continued. "It is hoped, however, that within

a reasonable period the restoration of the Rs. 6 lakhs and of the posts now in abeyance will become a *fait accompli*."

On the other hand, the project for a new Central Research Institute worthy of India, recommended by the Fletcher Committee, has been abandoned, owing to the financial implications being greater than the Government of India cared to undertake. The establishment of the All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health was only rendered possible by the munificence of the Rockefeller Foundation, which offered to purchase a site and to erect and equip an institute for six sections to deal with advanced public health teaching and public health research, subject to the Government of India undertaking to meet the recurring charges. The Institute was completed and opened in December, 1932. The sequel is dolorously familiar : "Unfortunately the financial crisis has prevented all six sections being opened, and only four will function in the first instance." If and when this hiatus is overcome, the Public Health Commissioner is convinced that the Institute should "exert in future a very great influence in grading up the public health standards of education in the country and in supplying highly trained officers for health directional work throughout India. It should be able to provide a public health course of a much more useful kind from the Indian point of view than that now obtainable in the United Kingdom. As a rallying point for research on public health problems it has facilities to offer which should ensure its great utility to the federal health organization of the India of the future." If so, the expressions of gratitude already conveyed to the Rockefeller Foundation in New York will be multiplied a thousandfold.

It is not forgotten in India that it was the generous and farsighted financial assistance of an American donor which rendered possible, during Lord Curzon's viceroyalty, the foundation of the famous Agricultural Research Institute at Pusa which has proved so potent and beneficent an influence in improving the quality and yield of so many of India's staple crops. How intimately economic and health problems are allied may be recalled by reiterating the vital importance, especially in a country where the population is increasing so rapidly as in India, of adequate supplies of nutritious food of all kinds, not forgetting fish and milk. In reality, study of the relevant data in regard to population and production appears to justify a great deal of doubt and anxiety; the situation in this respect having suffered considerable further deterioration owing to the disastrous reactions of the world slump. The census taken in 1931, it will be remembered, showed an increase in population during the decade of 10·6 per cent., while since 1872, when the first census was taken, the increase has been 46·6 per cent. In the opinion of Major-General Graham,

the implications of a decennial increase of approximately 34 millions cannot be lightly regarded when we consider the economic state of 90 per cent. of the inhabitants and the admitted necessity for raising it. Responsible medical opinion has declared definitely that such a state of affairs is likely to prove a danger of great magnitude. Major-General Sir John Megaw, whose views on health and population in India are elaborated elsewhere in this journal, did not overstate the position when he declared in a recent analysis: "It is clear that the growth of population has already begun to outstrip the increase in the production of the necessities of life so that even low standards of economic life must inevitably become still lower unless some economic change is brought about. The outlook for the future is gloomy to a degree, not only for the masses of the people who must face the intensified struggle for bare subsistence, but also for the upper classes whose incomes depend on the production of surplus crops and other commodities. If the entire produce of the soil is needed to provide for the urgent need of the cultivators nothing will be left for payment of rent or revenue . . . and the whole social structure of India must inevitably be rudely shaken if not completely destroyed."

It is not necessary to discuss here the crude and cynical view that, in such circumstances, the soundest policy would be to dispose of the excess population by allowing disease to exercise its decimating influence unhampered. The widening activities of the health organizations sponsored by the League of Nations are a recognition that the problems involved have an international as well as a national aspect, and that any country in which disease is rampant is a menace to all. The reactions of modern methods of trade and transport in this sphere are too obvious to require elaboration. Major-General Graham reveals his own acute consciousness of this aspect of the problem when he prefaces his description of international health activities with the comment that: "The *post bellum* orientation of communicable disease problems opened up new lines of work for all central health authorities, because it was no longer possible to visualize countries like India in matters of public health policy as standing aloof from and outside general world movements." Until most of the diseases which now decimate its population are brought under closer control India, like China, will remain a world menace. And the arguments which justify international action in health matters are, of course, still more closely applicable to joint action in India itself: an additional warrant for the proposed Federal Constitution, which will bring British India and the Indian States into closer co-operation for all purposes affecting the welfare of the country as a whole. As disease ignores administrative boundaries, so must the measures adopted to combat it.

Inside India there is free trade in goods; there is also free trade in germs; in other words, the country is one unit for purposes of health no less than for purposes of commerce. Most of the diseases which ravage India—plague, smallpox, cholera, malaria, and the rest—are as rampant in the Indian States as in British India, and require approximately the same measures to combat them; furthermore, the closer the co-operation secured, the more efficacious such measures are likely to prove. There is an Imperial Agricultural Research Council, in which the Indian States are active participants, directed to improving crops and cattle; and there is at least an equally strong case for a Federal Health Council, or, as Major-General Graham urges, a Federal Ministry of Health, to facilitate concurrent progress in matters of human health. An effective federal organization implies, of course, the existence, in all the federal units, of Health Departments not only competent to cope with the problems demanding action in their own areas, but ready to co-operate in those directions in which joint action is indispensable to any real progress; it is therefore satisfactory to note the existence, in some of the more progressive States, of Departments of Health which, in respect of staff and financial resources, organization and energy, are not less efficient than many of the corresponding provincial departments in British India.

In Mysore, which in 1932-33 won the Imperial Baby Week Challenge Shield which is annually competed for throughout the British Empire, excluding only the United Kingdom, the State Department of Health, under the able direction of Dr. J. V. Karve, M.B., C.H.B., D.P.H., is sub-divided into seven sections: the Bureau of Administration; the Bureau of Epidemiology and Communicable Diseases; the Bureau of Laboratories; the Bureau of Vital Statistics; the Bureau of Health Education; the Bureau of Sanitary Engineering; and the Bureau of Rural Health. Nor is this elaborate organization merely a pretentious administrative façade; on the contrary, as revealed in the report for 1932, it represents a medium not merely of high aspiration but of solid achievement, despite the financial and other handicaps to which every such department in India is inevitably subject. During the year under report, as indicated in the Director's report, the state of public health was normal. When outbreaks of epidemic diseases did occur, preventive measures were promptly undertaken, with the result that the State had to face only minor epidemics. Malaria control work was continued, and an interesting account is given of the activities of the hookworm campaign unit. Anti-plague measures were employed in many of the infected localities, the chief measure being anti-plague inoculation: 234,295 inoculations were effected, the inoculated popula-

tion being approximately 3·6 per cent. In other words, out of every thousand of population 36 persons were inoculated during the year. From the Vaccine Institute the quantities of lanoline vaccine issued were enough for 232,177 cases as against 200,565 cases in the preceding year. There was no difficulty in meeting the full demand for vaccine at any time. As testified by the statistics quoted by the Director: "The protection which vaccination affords amongst all ages against death from smallpox in our State is quite obvious." As evidence of the range of activity of the Bureau of Health Education, it is pointed out that during 1932 as many as 162 cinema shows were given to audiences aggregating 124,485 persons. The Publicity Officer visited large numbers of schools and gave health talks to teachers and pupils. The officers of the Bureau actively co-operated in the State-wide Health and Baby Week celebrations, special films relating to mothercraft being hired from Madras and Delhi. Advantage was taken of the second State Conference of primary and middle school teachers at Bangalore to hold a health exhibition. A leaflet entitled "Smallpox in Mysore" was published in five languages for free distribution in the State. The Bureau also printed leaflets and pictorial posters on smallpox, plague, soil pollution and bore-hole latrines in large numbers in Kannada, Urdu, and English. They are being distributed free all over the State through the agency of the revenue and educational authorities, district boards, village panchayets and municipalities. The Bureau of Sanitary Engineering is able to point out that at the close of 1931 there were 25 piped water supplies in the State serving a population of 678,893, or 10·4 per cent. of the total population of the State. During 1932 four new waterworks were installed, serving an additional population of 13,098. Two existing water supplies were improved and their capacities enlarged. Nine existing water supplies were equipped with chlorinators, resulting in an additional 86,335 people being benefited by safer drinking water. New designs and estimates were prepared for 20 water supply schemes, and much other useful work was completed or initiated. The Rural Health Unit justified its formation, but the establishment of additional units was deferred owing to financial stringency.

In Hyderabad State, where the Medical and Sanitation Department is under the experienced direction of Colonel J. Norman Walker, I.M.S. (Retd.), a number of schemes for the improvement of the Department have been formulated, and Government express the hope that most of these will be brought into effect in the near future. The total population of the Nizam's Dominions, as revealed in the census of 1931, was 14,438,148, an increase of 1,964,378 during the decade, making the density per

square mile 175 against 151. Colonel Norman Walker has not hesitated to point out that the sanitary condition of the districts in Hyderabad is far from satisfactory and calls for immediate radical changes. As in British India, progress in public health work is slow. Sanitation in each district and particularly in the smaller towns needs organization and development. The notification of epidemic disease and the record of vital statistics are particularly weak points, consequently the efforts of the Sanitary Department to cope with outbreaks of epidemic disease are seriously retarded. A scheme for the inauguration of a Public Health Department to remedy the existing evils in the districts and to devise measures for prevention of disease with efficient control of epidemics by qualified Health Officers is under the consideration of Government. In Hyderabad City the supply of water is of excellent quality, but Colonel Walker records: "Further extensions are necessary to parts of the city not yet fully supplied. It is very desirable to close practically all the enormous number of wells existing in the city. This is particularly necessary as all these wells are breeding the most dangerous form of malaria-carrying mosquitoes. This necessary work can only be taken up gradually as piped water supply becomes available. . . . At present conservancy arrangements leave very much to be desired, but this will be corrected under arrangements to be made between the Drainage Department and the Municipality. Relieved of all these extensive and important functions, the Municipality should have ample time and money to bring the sanitation of Hyderabad City up to a very high standard."

At the beginning of the year 1340 Fasli, the city of Hyderabad was in the grip of plague, and Colonel Walker describes the activities of the Special Plague Department established to counteract the outbreak. It may be of interest to afford a few glimpses of the work such a campaign involves. By the end of the previous year 4,900 rat-traps were in regular use in the whole city, and during the year under report 300 new traps of an improved pattern were ordered and 200 old traps were repaired and brought into use. At the end of the year the number of traps in actual service totalled 5,400. Six campaigns were launched, each lasting eight weeks. The numbers of traps set and rats caught were 1,736,474 and 235,063 respectively. In the areas dealt with: "Each house was trapped for three days successively and then the traps were moved to the next locality. Where the rat density was found to be high, the period of trapping was increased till the rat density fell. We were able to trap each house once every six weeks. . . . What this reduction in the density of rats has meant to the city of Hyderabad is well seen by the fact that the infection which was first imported into Noorkhan Bazaar this

year from the neighbourhood of Vikarabad, remained localized for nearly three months, and even when the other localities were infected later by the importation of human cases and their attendants . . . the disease failed to attain the same magnitude as in the previous year." Two important points noticed during the rat campaign were: when the number of rats decreased, the mice increased; and areas where houses were being demolished yielded an immediate harvest of rats in exceptional numbers. To quote Colonel Walker's comment: "Literature about mice and their habits is very scanty and there is no previous record of this interesting observation: rats undoubtedly kill and eat mice. With considerable reduction in the rats, mice evidently increase and breed freely. This problem will be studied in the laboratory next year. Mice, though susceptible to plague to a certain extent, are not infected as easily as rats, and for this reason are not so dangerous as rats." It is also of interest to record that, owing to incessant propaganda by the staff, there was very little opposition to baiting or trapping, and many people applied to the Section Offices for traps and baits for use in their houses. By means of trapping, baiting and other processes, including the fumigation of rat-holes and subsequent closures, it is calculated that one million rats were destroyed in Hyderabad City during the year.

In order to complete the picture of rat hunting as conducted in Hyderabad City, Colonel Walker observes that every infected house and the adjacent houses are first fumigated and then completely disinfected. All the houses within a circle of not less than 200 yards diameter are fumigated. This wide control is necessary and is found to be efficient. Whenever timely notice of a new infection was received the disease failed to reappear after disinfection and fumigation. A large number of localities were attacked by this method and freed of plague. The method is to fumigate all rat-holes seen in the house by Clayton F. Type fumigation machine. Sulphur fumes are evolved under pressure and kill rats (especially young ones) and all fleas. The nozzle discharging fumes is placed in a rat-hole and closed with clay, all subsidiary holes from which the smoke escapes are closed tightly with clay or mud and the machine worked in the hole for ten minutes. Hole after hole is attacked in a systematic method. It is surprising, but no exaggeration, that when fumes are blown by the machine into a rat-hole the sulphur smoke escapes from crevices throughout the house. The *katcha* walls in Hyderabad are literally honeycombed with rat burrows. With this method young rats run inside the fumigation tube and also out into the open air in a dazed condition and are easily killed. After fumigation the disinfection staff use sprays which fill all nooks and corners with a disinfecting solution which has the

advantage of being a penetrating larvæcide. It has been possible by the combination of the two methods to stop plague in all those localities where a new infection was promptly reported. Combined disinfection and fumigation of a house cost Rs. 1-7, and fumigation only 11 annas. "In the published literature," Colonel Walker writes, "generally it is recorded that rat plague precedes human plague and disappears before the disappearance of human plague. In Hyderabad our observation of rats is very complete and shows that plague in rats continues for some time after the epidemic is over. The large number of people protected by inoculation probably has a bearing on the earlier immunity among human beings. It is an interesting speculation whether and how far the rat population develops immunity to plague and this we propose to make the subject of experiment in the coming year." It is pertinent to add that of 55,991 rats examined 534 were infected with plague, but of 55,867 mice examined only 41 were infected. "This is in keeping with experience elsewhere and it may be accepted that in natural conditions rats are ten times as susceptible to plague as mice." It is testimony to the efficacy of the measures adopted that Colonel Walker concludes his survey with a statement of fact and an expression of hope: the former being that "the year closes with no case of plague in the city," and the latter that there is reason to anticipate that the capital of the Nizam's Dominions has been "freed of the serious epidemic which has ravaged the city for the last nine years."

With regard to malaria the efforts of the authorities in Hyderabad State to strike at the root of the trouble have made a good deal of headway during the past year.

It is inevitable that the difficulties which stand in the way of this important work are stupendous. However, H.E.H. the Nizam's Government have systematically been carrying on research work through a specially constituted Malaria Department, and all areas of water are now under their supervision. Breeding places of the malaria mosquito (*A. Stephensi*) have been traced almost entirely to wells which in most cases lie within private compounds. These wells are being kept under strict supervision wherever possible. Unfortunately this work is much hampered by the lack of co-operation and understanding on the part of the owners of the houses in which the wells are situated. The whole efficacy of the paris-green treatment depends upon its regularity and the importance of leaving the water surface undisturbed for at least six hours. In some cases this can be done, but when the owners of wells raise difficulties and obstructions the department receives a severe setback. The people are difficult to convince that the use of water from clear wells may be in any way dangerous, and it will only be by enforcing the byelaw authorizing the

closing of all infected wells that malaria in the State can be fought on level grounds. With this in view, and taking into consideration the personal difficulties with which the department is faced, the Government have recently sanctioned the sum of Rs. 150,000—Rs. 30,000 for the filling and covering of wells, and Rs. 120,000 for the extension of a free water supply to replace wells it has proved necessary to close.

In regard to the River Musi the work has been more straightforward, and with the help of additional labour provided by the Government, seven miles of this river have now been cleared of hyacinth.

Of another Indian State, Jammu and Kashmir, the Census Commissioner concludes an analysis of the relevant statistics with the comment, covering the decade 1921-31: "To sum up it may be safely concluded that the decade has been exceptionally fortunate and propitious as compared to its predecessor on account of its enjoying complete immunity from the hellish visitation of influenza which carried away about 45,000 souls, or other curses like the war or the big famines. The attacks of plague and cholera enumerated above have also been fewer and of lesser intensity, and much loss of life was averted by the prompt and effective measures taken by the Medical and Health Departments." The Kashmir Commissioner, however, discussing the pressure of population on the means of subsistence, contrasts economic conditions in India with those in Western countries, observing: "England produces a negligibly small proportion of its food requirements and still it is one of the richest countries in the world, while India even producing its entire requirements might still remain the lowest in the standard of life and comfort, and even experience starvation if the income of the people per head does not undergo an increase. According to the most optimistic estimates of Findlay Shirras the average income of India per head was computed at Rs. 116, which at the then prevailing rate of exchange came to less than £8, while the corresponding figure for Great Britain was £95—i.e., twelve times India's income (*vide* Simon Commission Report, Volume I., Para. 374). In 1926 the income of United States of America was placed at about Rs. 1,925, that of Britain at Rs. 1,000 per head, Australia and Canada Rs. 550 per head, whereas India's income has been estimated variously from Rs. 67 to Rs. 116. The above figures present a glaring contrast between the incomes of agricultural India and the industrial West, and it does not need a very vivid imagination to estimate the standard of comfort in which the Indians pass their lives at present. From intensive enquiries made, Dr. Mann (formerly Director of Agriculture in Bombay) came to the conclusion that out of 103 families only 36, or just

near 35 per cent., can pay their way on the standard they themselves lay down. The others are living below that standard, and this conclusion shows an exceedingly serious state of affairs. What is true of India as a whole applies with equal force to this State, where on account of backwardness of communications, irrigation, and agriculture the condition of the masses is similar if not poorer. Just as in India the remedy to counteract the evil effects of over-population predominantly lies in the systematic development of the economic resources of the country, similarly the solution of the population problem of the State has to be found in the scientific exploitation of the State resources. In the West the industrial development may be said to have attained its zenith, and consequently with further increases of population the 'optimum' will soon be crossed when the law of diminishing returns would effect necessary adjustments by cutting down the numbers or materially reducing the standard of comfort. The tendency is already visible in the daily increasing figures of unemployment, the general fall in prices, and the great economic depression. To repeat, we may premise that while in the West the exploitation of economic resources has reached its maximum, the process has not seriously commenced in India, much less in the State, which consequently will be able to support its increasing population through industrialization of the country redounding to great improvement in the material welfare of the people whose present low standard of life will also be appreciably raised."

Further industrial development is undoubtedly necessary in India, not only to afford employment and increase its financial resources, including the amount available for expenditure on such essential purposes as public health, but also to facilitate the consumption of a considerable part of India's existing agricultural produce for which the oversca demand has recently so sharply declined. The cotton industry, for example, is the largest single consumer of Indian cotton, the Indian jute mill industry is the largest single consumer of jute, and one of the chief incentives to the high protection accorded to sugar manufacture in India is the fact that no other available outlet exists for absorbing the increasing yield of the improved sugar-canies now so widely cultivated. Nevertheless, if India is ever to possess a well-staffed Ministry of Health, and is to be in a position to finance the many other social welfare schemes which her growing population so urgently require, the resources required will not come from the development of industries alone. Over three-quarters of India's population reside in her villages, and are dependent on agricultural activities, and it is impossible to conceive that, within any calculable period, that very high percentage will show any appre-

ciable decline. Indeed, in the last decade, the percentage dependent on agriculture, despite the encouragement given to industrial development by recourse to protective tariffs, has actually increased. It is necessary therefore to face the indisputable fact that unless and until the economic conditions of the vast rural population are greatly improved no substantial advance can be looked for either in their own physical condition or in the ability of the public authorities, federal, provincial, and local, on whose financial resources the country must depend for all outlay on schemes of common interest, to raise the taxation thus required.

In the West the establishment of expensive social welfare organizations *followed* the intensive economic development of the last century and did not precede it. As a matter of financial necessity, it is probable that the same sequence will be witnessed in India. It would be advantageous to possess Health Departments in India on the Western scale, but the necessary funds are not at present available, nor is there any early prospect of securing them. That is not to say that any opportunity should be missed to allot larger grants to the Medical and Health Departments than are now at their disposal; but it is also important to adhere to the rule "First things first." The promotion of public health in India is not only the affair of the departments whose primary functions is to cure or prevent disease; it is also the responsibility of the departments, especially of Agriculture and Co-operative Credit, whose task it is to increase the income of the rural population by increasing crop outturns, improving the breeds of cattle, reducing the stranglehold of the moneylender, etc., and so raising their standard of living generally. This admittedly is a slow process in Indian conditions, but it is also a vital pre-requisite to any general improvement in the physical well-being of the population concerned, and to any increase in the taxable resources available to finance simple, but essential, measures, such as efficient sanitation, the provision of pure water, etc., of common concern. The recurring complaint of every Director of Public Health in India is lack of funds, but what is the explanation? Not that the Executives or Legislatures are callously indifferent or antagonistic to giving the Health Departments all the funds they require, but that the taxable capacity of the people is too low to enable the funds required to be secured. That difficulty, it need hardly be emphasized, has been immensely increased by the economic events of the last four years. Especially in the villages, one of the few opportunities of securing a progressive expansion in the resources available for village improvement is the further extension of co-operative credit. A few figures will suffice to illustrate the position. Rural indebtedness is estimated to aggregate approximately £750,000,000, involving an annual levy on the

cultivators of probably not less than £200,000,000 a year, which finds its way into the hands of the moneylenders. On the basis of the interest rates charged by the majority of co-operative credit societies, that levy would be reduced by at least half, so releasing approximately £100,000,000, a great deal of which would, sooner or later, become available for expenditure on health promotion and social welfare generally. Subject to pursuance of that line of action, I am prepared to agree with Major-General Graham, that "the future will see a Ministry [of Public Health] just as there is little doubt that its creation is desirable for the best development of Indian public health on modern lines."

FEDERATION AND THE STATES

By N. MADHAVA RAU, B.A., B.L.

(Revenue Commissioner in Mysore)

In the recent debate in Parliament on the motion to reconstitute the Joint Select Committee, the Secretary of State stated that "The first offer of Federation came not from the Government here but from the Princes themselves. No pressure was put upon them of any kind and no pressure has been put upon them since that time. They have been perfectly free to consider their advantage from every conceivable angle, and they have come to the conclusion in the great majority of cases that it is wise for them to enter a Federation, if a Federation is set up, and so far from receding from that position, time after time in the course of the last six months they have affirmed clearly and definitely their adherence to that view."

The Princes have thus made their bed and will doubtless lie on it uncomplainingly. But is it a Spartan couch that has been devised for them and their subjects or one of tolerable comfort? Now that the outlines as well as the details of the new constitution have crystallized in a practically final form, it is possible to estimate with some degree of exactness the position which the States are likely to occupy in Federal India and the extent to which the new régime is likely to fulfil the anticipations with which its advent was welcomed.

The Princes had made it a *sine qua non* of their adherence to Federation that the Federal Government is limited to specific subjects assigned to it by the free consent of the States. It is a point gained, therefore, that the form of Federation adopted in the White Paper is one which gives the Federal Centre certain enumerated powers, leaving the residuary jurisdiction to the State Units.

The same sort of arrangement, it may be noted, was advocated for the Provinces also by the Muslim leaders and others, but, owing to differences of opinion, the Third Round-Table Conference was unable to make any recommendation on the subject. It contented itself with expressing the hope that if the lists of Federal, Provincial and Concurrent subjects were laid down in sufficient detail, the undefined or unforeseen residue would not prove to be extensive. It also indicated the desirability of leaving the allocation of this residue to the Governor-General, who would, as occasion arose, determine whether the Federal Legislature or

the Provincial Legislatures might best deal with a particular subject outside the schedules. This plan has accordingly been adopted in the White Paper.

The States will therefore differ from the Provinces in the fact that they will retain residuary powers. Further, the subjects in which they will be bound by Federal Legislation will be more limited in range. But it must not be inferred from this that their legislative competence will not be substantially curtailed by their adherence to Federation.

Some doubts arose at one time, and are not yet fully dispelled, in connection with the proposal that the Federation will exercise only such powers and functions in relation to the States as the States-Members of the Federation will formally accept as being of full force and effect within their territories. This does not evidently mean that a State can pick and choose at will the subjects in respect of which it will agree to be bound by Federal Legislation, that it can contract itself out of any of the common obligations and participate only in the common benefits. Were that the case, as a British Indian politician remarked, not altogether in jest, the political association of the Provinces and the States would be the sort of partnership in which one party brings rice and the other brings chaff and the two proceed to divide the mixture after blowing out the chaff. There is nothing so cynically simple in the arrangement now proposed. Some of the States are enjoying privileges which, for financial or sentimental reasons, they cannot be expected to give up and which can well be left to them without serious prejudice to the Federal plan. It is to protect such long-standing privileges that the provision in question could be implemented, not to support arbitrary claims for immunity from Federal jurisdiction in the appointed sphere. The statement in the White Paper that "full liberty will be reserved to the Crown to refuse to accept the accession of any State to the Federation if it is sought on terms incompatible with the scheme of Federation" could mean nothing less.

Subject, therefore, to a few special exceptions of this kind, the Federation will exercise a uniform range of legislative power over all the State Units, extending, it is understood, to the subjects mentioned in entries 1 to 48 and 64 of List I. It is true that some of these subjects are of a purely formal character (*e.g.*, Federal services, Federal pensions, Federal properties) or are designed to effectuate the transfer of Central Institutes of Research and Education to Federal control. In respect of certain other subjects the States have already parted with their powers, though not without protest, in favour of the Crown, and their enumeration in the list is intended to give a quietus to these protests and formally to vest the powers in question in the new Federal State.

But after making allowance for all this, there still remains a field of effective or potential jurisdiction, by no means exiguous, which will pass from the States to the Federal Centre under the new constitution. This field will comprise not only such subjects as common defence and external affairs, in all their varied aspects, but railways, shipping, and air navigation, a wide range of commercial law including the incorporation of companies for banking and insurance, inventions and designs, development of industries in cases where such development is declared by or under Federal law to be expedient in the public interest, and, more important than all, the imposition and administration of various kinds of taxes.

In effect, and speaking in a very general way, the activities of the Federal Government will not be dissimilar in scope to those of the present Government of India, but they will extend to a wider territory, comprising the States as well as the Provinces. In respect of the former, a frankly constitutional regulation will take the place of political influence reinforced, as is sometimes complained, by a strained use of the powers of paramountcy.

It is interesting to note the comprehensive nature of some of the subjects which it is proposed to class as exclusively Federal. For instance, take Item I.—“the common defence of India in times of emergency declared by the Governor-General.” The declaration of such an emergency, which does not necessarily imply the actual or apprehended presence of a foreign foe at the gates of India, would indefinitely extend the scope of Federal authority. Federal legislation imposing compulsory military service, restricting civil liberties, regulating the prices of foodstuffs, controlling newspapers, commandeering factories or motor conveyances and entering into a hundred and one details of economic and social life would become *intra vires* in such a contingency. As was observed by Justice Higgins of the High Court of Australia, “The power to legislate as to defence, although it shows itself on the same level as the other subjects, has a deeper root, far greater height of growth, wider branches and overshadows all the other powers. Defence is primarily a matter of force, actual or potential; the whole force of the nation may be required; and for the purpose of bringing the whole force of the nation to bear, the policy of the States may have to be temporarily superseded, the law made by the Federal Constitution prevailing.”

It may be remembered that it was as Commander-in-Chief of the Federal forces in the field that Abraham Lincoln during the Civil War liberated slaves in America—a striking example of military necessity overriding constitutional limitations.

Another noteworthy item in the list is “Development of Industries in cases where such development is declared by or under

a Federal law to be expedient in the public interest." The primary and professed object of this entry is to meet those cases "which often arise in which the Central Government may wish to grant assistance to an industry in connection with matters in which they are directly interested but are prevented from doing so owing to the technical objection that the particular industry or the particular case is not declared to be" a Federal subject. But "Development of Industries" is a very comprehensive expression and may conceivably include not only the grant of bounties, which, of course, would be welcome, but the imposition of quotas and other restrictive measures and even the reorganization of an industry as a Federal monopoly.

Not that we should deplore such a result should it ever ensue. The point is that though the Federal Government may be limited to specific subjects, as desired by the States, the content of these subjects is, in some instances, very wide, and that the apparently rigid framework of the new constitution will permit of its development towards a more unitary type.

With regard to the form of Federal Legislation, the representatives of the Princes were inclined to make certain stipulations at one time—viz., that Federal laws should come into force in a State only when they are re-enacted by the Prince and subject to such modifications as, in view of local conditions, he might see fit to impose, with an admission, however, of overriding validity in favour of Federal laws in certain contingencies.

The acceptance of these proposals would have made the Federation unreal. But it is understood that they have not been seriously pressed and the White Paper gives them no countenance.

Another demand made by the States is that, as far as possible, the execution of Federal law within State territories must be left to agencies appointed and controlled by the States themselves. This would seem to be based on sound instinct. The interference in petty details by Federal Directors, Inspectors-General and Advisory staffs of sorts does not make for smoothness of relations. At the same time, the Federation cannot leave the execution of its laws to State agencies without the assurance that they are competent and loyal. If a State, to quote an instance which I am told is not apocryphal, had a civil service in which the positions of Chief Judge and Superintendent of dancing girls stood on a par and were interchangeable, the claim for administrative autonomy in the Federal field would be preposterous. There is obviously need for some discrimination in the matter, which it will be for the Governor-General to exercise, as occasion may require, and more particularly in connection with the Treaties of Accession.

Our doctrinaire friends in British India need not raise their brows at the proposed administrative delegation in favour of the

States because, firstly, this delegation will be subject to the condition that the Governor-General will be entitled to issue general instructions or make inspections for the purpose of satisfying himself that an adequate standard of administration is maintained.

Secondly, the proposed arrangement is based on approved practice in other Federations such as that of Switzerland.

Thirdly, the position of the Provinces in this respect will not be materially different from that of the States, except for the fact that the Provinces will receive instructions in Federal matters from the Federal Government of the day and not from the Governor-General and that any cost which they may incur for the purpose of executing Federal laws will be paid by the Federal Government. Apparently the States will receive no such compensation. If, for instance, a census were to be taken for Federal purposes, the Provinces would be paid for it, but the States would have to conduct it at their own cost.

From the outset, the Princes maintained that "the connection of the States with the Federation should be subject to the basic principle that in regard to all matters not ceded to the Federation their relations will be with the Crown acting through the agency of the Viceroy." This principle was readily conceded by the Prime Minister at the First Round-Table Conference. It has since been reaffirmed by both sides on several occasions and is now enshrined in circumstantial detail in the White Paper. But what does this basic principle really involve? So far as the Princes were concerned, it meant, firstly, that the Federal Legislature should not trespass on their internal affairs or make them a subject for discussion or interpellation in the Legislative bodies; secondly, that their rights and privileges under the Treaties would be guaranteed as inviolate and inviolable; thirdly, that the powers of paramountcy in relation to dynastic and ceremonial matters, questions of grave misrule, minority administration, etc., should be exercised by the Viceroy, to the exclusion of the Federal Government; and fourthly, that as a necessary incident of the new régime they would be emancipated from control in matters outside the spheres of Federation and of paramountcy in the sense just explained.

The first three points are secured by the new constitution. But as regards the fourth point, there are no signs yet of any possible relaxation of control in non-Federal subjects. On the other hand, the White Paper continues to give to the Viceroy, apparently without change or diminution, all the powers which the Crown has acquired or enjoyed by treaty, usage or sufferance, barring only those which are transferred to the Federation. For instance, the acceptance of new financial burdens under the constitution does not, it would appear, absolve a State of its treaty obligation to pay tributes. The Crown, as the head of the Federation, may

acquire new powers under the constitution to establish and administer cantonments in the States, but will it give up the right of demanding cession of territory that it enjoys under treaty for the identical purpose? Plenary jurisdiction has been ceded to the Crown in respect of railway lands, but as the Federation requires and will secure definite rights for the regulation of railways under the constitution, will the Crown insist on retaining the residual jurisdiction in its own hands or will it make it over to the States wherever possible? These questions require close consideration if the obligations imposed by the Treaties of Alliance and the Treaties of Accession are not to become cumulative, the upper and nether millstones of a complicated subjection.

Perhaps the most tangible and the most immediate sacrifice that the States will be called upon to make in the cause of Federation will be in the financial sphere. In order to illustrate this, an attempt may be made to estimate the extent to which Mysore is likely to be affected by the proposals contained in the White Paper. In addition to import duties, export duties, coinage profits, salt duty, etc., to which the people of the State already contribute, the sources of revenue allocated to the Federation include tobacco excise and other excise duties except those on alcohol, drugs, and narcotics. Having regard to the probable needs of the Federation and the avowed intention of developing Federal excises to satisfy these needs, it is fairly certain that excise duties on tobacco and matches will be levied almost from the outset. The contribution of the Mysore State under these heads may be estimated at Rs. 9 to 10 lakhs.* Sugar will probably be the next article to be selected for the imposition of excise duty on the ground of this industry having established itself under the shelter of tariff walls. What this would mean to Mysore, which, having spent crores of rupees on irrigation, is endeavouring to develop the production of sugar, need hardly be emphasized.

Then there will be surcharges on income-tax, which, if they are retained at the level which has prevailed since 1931, will mean another 3 or 4 lakhs.

After ten years a further liability will arise in the shape of corporation tax, the definition of which has been extended so as to cover taxation not only on the income but also on the capital of companies. Assuming that this tax will be levied, as has been understood all along, as a super-tax on company profits at $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., the State's contribution will be some Rs. 6 lakhs. And it must be remembered that unless other adjustments are made, as seemed likely at one time, it will not be in this case a question of giving up a potential source of revenue but of diversion to the Federal Treasury of an existing source of State revenue.

* 1 lakh of rupees is about £7,500.

The only financial advantage that is promised is the relief from payment of the tribute or subsidy. But this will commence only from the fourth year of the Federation and may even then be deferred by the Governor-General at his discretion. Thereafter it will be reduced by progressive stages and brought down at the end of ten years to a figure equivalent to the value of the postal concession which the State now enjoys. The accession of the State to Federation will therefore mean an immediate addition of at least 13 or 14 lakhs to the subsidy during the first three years of the Federation, and when the subsidy is, in the fulness of time, remitted, other forms of taxation of equal, if not greater, magnitude will have taken its place.

The States' population constitutes about 25 per cent. of the population of India. But the States are given 40 per cent. of the seats in the Upper House of Legislature and $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. in the Lower. The weightage allowed to the States as a body might be thought to be sufficiently generous, but there are some States which still claim 50 per cent. of the seats in the Upper House, on the ground that this House will be, in a special sense, *the Federal Chamber*, in which the two component elements of the Federation—viz., British India and Indian India—are entitled to equal share. By an extension of the same process of reasoning, a demand has been developed for the individual and equal representation of all States irrespective of their size and population, provided they are members of the Chamber of Princes in their own right or are eligible for admission to that body. But this demand ignores the fact that many of the States within the charmed circle of the Chamber are really much too small to get individual representation, unless the strength of the Second Chamber is raised to fantastic proportions. Some system of grouping is inevitable, but some of the States which have come to regard the membership of the Upper Chamber as a place in the sun cannot easily reconcile themselves to this conclusion. They regard the prospect of group representation very much with the feelings of the Frenchman who, at one stage of the evolution of the triple theory of equality, fraternity and liberty, looked at himself in the mirror to find the reflection of one-twenty-seven millionth part of the sovereign of his country and the whole of a slave. The Federal *Nirvana* can offer no solace to these States.

But some of the larger States, too, are confronted with a problem which, though it is not so acute or insoluble, is not dissimilar in its nature. It is true that they will each have one or more seats. But what good will this do unless the number allotted to them is adequate to their population? They want no weightage, no favour, but ask that the legitimate interests of their people should not be sacrificed. A proposal according to which, it is said,

five seats will be given to Hyderabad, while the Central Provinces get eight seats, or three seats fall to the share of Mysore, while North-West Frontier Province, Sindh and Orissa secure five seats each, would seem to lack a sense of proportion. It is permissible to hope that such inequalities will not be allowed to arise.

These are matters in which the States' Rulers as well as the States' people may be presumed to hold identical views. But there comes, as might be expected, a point at which a divergence of opinion between them begins to manifest itself. A reference to one or two important points in this connection will here suffice.

To the constitutional purist, the idea of nominated members from the States and elected members from British India to the Federal Legislature may appear to be incongruous. In fact this is one of the points on which some of the States' people and a certain section of political opinion in India consider a change in the White Paper proposals to be essential. But it may be argued that the fear is not so much that the Princes, if left to themselves, would nominate unworthy or unrepresentative delegates to the Legislative bodies, but that, under the influence of the Political Department, these delegates might act and vote according to the dictates of the Crown, becoming, in other words, a substitute for the present official *bloc*. But these fears are not shared by men like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. This is what Sir Tej says: "I do not wish to minimize or ignore the weight of this criticism or the anomaly of the position, but having considered it carefully and dispassionately, I have come to the conclusion that the risks of this *bloc* generally acting as an impediment in the way of British India are not by any means great. At any rate they are not of such a grave character as to justify us in rejecting the All-India Federation on that ground alone. In the first place I cannot believe—and there is no warrant for such an assumption—that all Indian States' representatives will think alike; secondly, I think that differences caused by regional and economic interests are bound to lead to diversity in policy and action among the representatives of the Indian States; thirdly, I would draw attention to the list of Federal subjects in Appendix VI. The Federation being limited to subjects 1-49 in List I. of Appendix VI., the Indian States' *bloc* cannot perform the functions of the present official *bloc* in respect of those matters in which Indian opinion and official opinion in British India are usually ranged on opposite sides."

It may be added that the activities of the Political Department will be practically co-extensive with those of the Viceroy; and as between them and the Federal Legislature, there will be no debatable margins of jurisdiction or influence. Moreover, the traditions of the Department, particularly since the war, make it certain that it will render unto Cæsar only those things which are

Cæsar's and will have neither the desire nor the incentive to interfere in the composition or functioning of the Legislative bodies. At the same time, the States themselves are unlikely to submit to any such interference were it attempted. It may be recalled in this connection that some of the foremost advocates of the Indian cause at the present time are men who spent years of service in the Political Department.

It has been said that even if the Indian States' representatives did not form a separate *bloc* voting according to the wishes of the Crown, they would still be conservative elements in the composition of the Federal Legislatures. If this were all that could be said against the arrangement, it would seem to be a soft impeachment indeed.

In a memorandum submitted to the Round-Table Conference, Mr. Kelkar asks the question whether the British Indian member who "will necessarily represent the effective political consciousness of thousands of Indian souls"—"would he like to be vitally associated with any other member who bears on him the hallmark of the sufferance of undiluted autocracy?" And he answers the question by saying that it "would indeed be serious political misjoinder. Oil and water have never mixed well or at all." He considers that "both the British Indian members and the States' representatives in the Federal Legislature must have nearly the same sense of political status, the same sense of self-respect, independence and responsibility." Agreed. But if a State's representative votes under the instructions of his Government, every elected member votes under the instructions, more or less definite, of his constituency. And it is certain that the mandate of a Ruler will not be as peremptory as that of a special constituency, say, of labour or commerce or of land-holders. And as for equality of status and sense of responsibility, the States' delegates to the Round-Table Conference did not suffer by comparison with their British Indian colleagues and there is no reason to anticipate that their relative positions will not be maintained in the future Parliament of India.

Further, it is not clear that the States' representation will be composed solely of officials or that the non-officials included in the representation will not be chosen on the basis of some form of direct or indirect election. It is true that indirect elections will not have the same spectacular interest as direct elections, but they will at least have the merit of being inexpensive, open alike to the rich and poor, and immune from the tyranny of the party machine which kills the honest worker and promotes the chances only of the plausible and pliant demagogue.

Finally, there is the demand, which is often heard, for including a chapter on fundamental rights in the new constitution and

making it applicable both to the subjects of British India and of Indian States. In the White Paper, it is proposed that certain declarations, such for instance regarding the respect due to personal liberty and rights of property, should find a place in the constitution and that other propositions, apparently of a less general or axiomatic character, might be given expression to in the King's Proclamation. Assuming this is done, it is difficult to see how the subjects of British India, or, if any Rulers were to adopt these declarations, the subjects of Indian States, are likely to profit thereby. As pointed out by Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer, the declarations of rights are "in most cases in the nature of mere moral or politico-ethical or legislative maxims which have no claim to be treated as rules of positive law," and being "devoid of legal content, they are merely illusory safeguards of rights." It is significant that France, which had originally set the fashion in regard to the declaration of fundamental rights, has dispensed with that formality in its present constitution.

So far as the States are concerned, the yoke of Federation is not likely to be easy nor its burden light. But it is none the less clear that it is only in some form of Federal polity that the States can look for their political salvation. This view, which is widely held, is not the acquiescence of the courtier or fatalist in what might seem inevitable, or the product of Faith which can believe where it cannot prove. One important consideration should here be mentioned which makes sacrifice worth while for the sake of Federation. As observed by the Davidson Committee, "the States remain without the means of guiding or even of effectively influencing policy at the headquarters of Government in regard to many matters in which they have a very direct and material interest. In recent years when a measure of autonomy has been vouchsafed to British India, it has become less easy for the Crown to discharge its responsibilities as trustee for all the conflicting interests under its suzerainty or rule, and it would be rash to affirm that the point of view of the States equally with that of British India has always been in the minds of those who have shaped India's economic policy."

The removal of this disability constitutes the chief advantage of Federation to the States, while the ideal of a United India to which it seeks to give concrete expression must make a powerful appeal to the imagination of Princes and people alike.

EDUCATION IN HYDERABAD

By STANLEY RICE

THOSE who fear that with the introduction of the contemplated reforms India will relapse into "barbarism," whatever is meant by that elastic word, and that she will soon forget and eventually discard all the precious heritage bequeathed by British rule, are apt to ignore, if not to forget, the fact that in the course of 150 years British ideas and methods of thought, to say nothing of the material contributions, have so woven themselves into the pattern of Indian life that it is almost impossible to disentangle them. To some of these ideas, it may be freely admitted, lip service only is paid; they are like the seed that fell upon stony ground. Others are not wholly understood, and in the exuberance of enthusiasm are so interpreted as to overstep all restraining bounds; but there are many others—and they are not confined to the sophisticated and the educated—which have taken such deep root that it is hard to conceive an India without them.

The system of education which has been evolved in British India is one of these last, and it has been transplanted, almost without variation, into Indian States. With the broadening of the Indian outlook which fifty years ago saw little beyond the confines of the Himalayas and the sea, with the extension of foreign travel, with the deepened interest in social affairs, and with the help of conferences, Indian education has striven to keep abreast of the times and to adopt the most modern improvements. The Report on Hyderabad Education bristles with all the familiar terminology. There are colleges and faculties and middle and high schools and training colleges and vocational courses. There are girls' schools and depressed classes' schools, medical inspection and physical training, Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, and all that the most ardent educationist of the orthodox school could desire. Even the form of the Report reproduces—here and there with exaggerations—the approved model of British India with its virtues and its shortcomings. The method appears to be this—and it is small blame to the States if they have adopted what many of them have learned elsewhere: when the material has been collected from the subordinate officers, clerks in the head office laboriously set to work to prepare columns of figures, to work out percentages, to tally this table with that, to explain away any apparent retrogression, and finally to prepare in a fairly readable narrative form a report stuffed as full with statistics as a pudding

is with plums. This report is hurled at the head of the unfortunate minister, who, after struggling with about 100 typewritten pages, ends very little wiser than he has begun. If he is wise, he picks out a few salient points and confines his review to them; if he is apathetic or thinks the game is not worth the candle, he hands over the whole thing to the office who "prepare the review," and as in either case the result is read through, consigned to the record room, and forgotten, he may perhaps be accounted the wiser of the two.

That, it may be said, is altogether too cynical. There must after all be some record of the progress of a great department, and surely no department can have a more important effect on the welfare of a people than that which is instructing the youth of the State or province in good citizenship. There is much even in this mass of statistics from which the critic may glean the condition of affairs. You cannot invent a review, and if your review contains little of value, that must mean either that you have not taken enough trouble or that there is little to criticize. Judged by such standards as these, the Hyderabad Reports make interesting reading. One naturally turns at first to primary education because of the importance attached to literacy among the villagers, and the result would seem to be satisfactory enough. In three years there has been an increase of nearly 14,000 pupils and of over 200 schools; the number of boys alone attending primary schools is well over 200,000. Female education is making slow progress, here as everywhere else. A total of 45,000 out of a population of some 14½ millions is a very modest contribution, and of these nearly 40,000 are in the primary schools. The obstacles to female education all over India are, however, very great, as everyone knows, and one must not grudge praise to the effort which is being made in a sphere of peculiar difficulty and of comparatively recent origin. Everywhere, it may be said, education is progressing, and a Government which spends about Rs. 100 lakhs out of a total revenue of Rs. 750 lakhs cannot be accused of neglect.

And yet the Reports, for all the apparently satisfactory progress, leave one in doubt. Here as elsewhere, both in British India and the States, rural relapse into illiteracy largely thwarts the best meant efforts. That this should be so is not at all surprising. The agriculturist, whose preoccupation is with the land and who has not advanced far enough to feel the need of scientific advice to help him, has little use for reading and writing; he has not even the stimulus which might come from the superior attainments of his wife. He is rather in the position of the boy who, having no desire to learn the piano, is nevertheless taught his notes. Later he has not got a piano and does not want one; for lack of oppor-

tunity and lack of initiation he soon forgets the little he knew. The urban dweller is in a different position. To an industrial pursuit some reading and writing are essential except perhaps to the unskilled worker; the facility for getting newspapers and books, and the sights and examples all about him continue to keep alive and to develop the elements which he has learned at his primary school. This phenomenon is not peculiar to India, but from the nature of the case, from the general illiteracy and the lack of adequate communications it is perhaps more marked there.

Educationists are aware of the difficulty and have tried to meet it. Attempts have been made to give education a "rural bias"; at any rate there has been much talk on these lines, but nobody has yet, so far as I am aware, been able to translate this alluring phrase into practice. At one time small patches of land were attached to schools, which the boys could cultivate, but the patches were too small, and the cultivation was very far removed from agriculture proper. The whole thing was too like a game; it was as though you gave a girl a doll's house to fit her for her duties as a mistress of a home. On the other hand, it was found in Baroda State that where the excellent system of village libraries had brought literature within easy reach of the villagers, the relapse into illiteracy was far less marked. Environment and opportunity proved a stimulus; some at least of the young men would drop into the village library to read a newspaper in a leisure moment, and example is infectious. The remedy was, it is true, very partial, but it was not without its effect. Something, too, may be hoped from the plans put forward by Sir Akbar Hydari, and now under consideration by the Hyderabad Government, for a scheme of rural broadcasting.

One cannot assume that Hyderabad is any exception to the rule which obtains everywhere in India. The Director of Education is well entitled to our congratulations on the increase in schools and scholars, on his attempts to introduce vocational training, on the creation of new forms of activity, and on the steady, if slow, progress in female education. But the critic is entitled to ask, not by way of disparagement of a praiseworthy effort but in a friendly spirit of interest, What does it all amount to? So much space is devoted to quantity, so little to quality, that the outside reader, having no knowledge of the conditions of Hyderabad, is tempted to ask if the State is getting full value for the large expenditure of public money.

The same criticism—if it be fair to criticize on these lines a Report which is only meant to be an official record of the year's working for the information of local authorities—applies to collegiate education. It is disquieting that in the Report of 1930-31 we read

that "the question of unemployment amongst the graduates and undergraduates of the Osmania University has become very acute." Hyderabad is by no means alone in finding difficulty in obtaining employment for its educated sons. Nor is it just to blame the system of education for this result. It is a common, but rather superficial, criticism of Indian education that it is too literary. Thousands of youths are turned out every year with a fair degree of literary knowledge, but who cannot find a job. The original assumption was, however, that education was primarily intended to supply general culture and a training of the mind: the education at an English public school was purely literary and sufficed to fit a boy for any career. If it was a question of a special examination, such as that for the Army or the Civil Service, there might be for the last year or so tuition directed to that object. Otherwise you went on to the university or into business or eventually took special courses in medicine or theology. India was handicapped in two ways. Anyone reading the Reports with care will notice that the fees charged are ludicrously low compared with an English standard. The fees per head work out to just under Rs. 32 a year for all colleges—that is, about £2 10s. This is but a trifle when compared with the expenditure on the Osmania College alone of Rs. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ lakhs. But in all probability any attempt to raise the fees substantially would not only cause resentment but would actually drive away many of the poorer scholars. The sacrifices which parents make to give their sons a decent education are too well known to require comment. Hence it is that very many boys have no capital with which to start a career. They cannot afford to wait: they cannot afford to take risks.

Moreover the occupations open to such youths are more restricted than they are in England. The evolution of modern India under the British necessarily involved the assumption by the State of many duties which are ordinarily left to private enterprise, since ideas foreign to the country could only be carried out by those to whom they were familiar, and these duties of course included such social services as medicine and—to a greater extent than is found in England—education and engineering. It was almost inevitable that the State, which thus undertook social enterprises, financed with the people's money, should enter into competition with the private practitioner. There was, of course, no deliberate intention to do so. Government were faced with the awkward dilemma that they must either leave these services to a non-existent private enterprise or carry them out themselves. They chose the obvious course.

Caste, too, with its occupational tendency to some extent stood in the way. It took some time for a boy to realize that he could do other than his father and grandfather had done before him;

and the feeling has not altogether passed away, though it seems to be passing, that it is derogatory to a boy of good birth and high caste to soil his hands with the dirty work in the lower grades of a profession, especially of a commercial profession. It is, however, possible to exaggerate this difficulty. Caste, under the stress of progressive ideas and of economic pressure, is losing much of its rigidity, at any rate in externals and amongst the intellectuals. Occupations are not now the monopoly of any one caste: the Brahman may keep a shop and the Sudra may be a lawyer or journalist and nothing said. The youths of today, when more extensive foreign travel has broadened their outlook and has shown them the "dignity of labour," are beginning to realize that to lay the foundations of success you must not disdain drudgery even if it involves soiled hands and mud-stained garments. There are signs that the professions of medicine and engineering, to name only two, are making some headway against the rivalry of the law. In the Osmania College there were 63 law and 60 medical students; the engineering college had 48. These all show small advances, but they are still insignificant in numbers when compared with the 477 in the faculty of arts and sciences.

What is Hyderabad State doing to correct this state of affairs? The Principal of the college calls on the authorities "to take immediate steps to improve matters." That is easy to say, but no one need envy the task of a Government who tries to put into practical shape this excellent advice. In the Department of Education alone an attempt is being made to combine vocational with literary education and a list of twenty-four trades is given. The idea has much to recommend it, but, while it may be unfair to criticize from the bald recital of names, there would seem to be scope for improvement under expert advice. We are told that this kind of training has been introduced into 13 high, 34 middle, 5 special, and "some" primary schools, but we are not told whether all twenty-four trades are taught in all the schools, and, if not, which are taught in which. It would certainly seem that such trades as cane and rattan work, tape-weaving and blacksmithery will not go far towards the solution of the "black-coated" unemployment and the amount of agriculture—a highly scientific study which is worthy of a separate college—cannot be so great as to be of any real value. It is indeed open to question whether vocational training is really suitable for boys of the age attending such schools as those named. It may well be argued that the primary object of education is to develop the mind, in order that a boy may bring intelligence to whatever career he may choose; the specialized training for that career may come later, both when the mind is more matured and when the age has arrived at which a choice should be made. There is some danger

lest the reaction against literary education should swing too far to the opposite extreme, and that the training of the mind should be given the second place after the more material object of gaining a livelihood.

But in addition to this vocational training there is also a Technical Institute which contains departments concerned mainly with various kinds of mechanical engineering. It cannot be said that elsewhere the response has come up to expectations; Hyderabad may, however, be an exception in that possibly the people may to some extent take on the Islamic outlook of the Government, and in that part of India in which Hyderabad is situate Muslims incline by temperament rather to trade and industry than to agriculture. Recently Mr. John de La Valette told us that hand-loom weaving and the dyeing and printing of fabrics, cottage industries, the development of mechanized industry, and, above all, of cotton and textile manufactures are amongst the activities of the Government of the State. Agriculture, which is and probably always will be the staple industry, has its department with the usual equipment of experimental farms and research work. But he adds, in a felicitous phrase in which there is pregnant meaning, that, "Like all good farmers, those in Hyderabad have memories that recede too far into the past to take lightly to innovation." What applies to agriculture applies also to other callings. Tradition has hitherto proved too strong both for Indians and for their Governments. For the Government from which everything is expected can in fact do but little unless the response is adequate. All that it can do is to provide the fare and invite the people to partake. Once their imagination is caught the rest is easy. When the new education was first introduced, the rush for it exceeded all expectations. "Twice twenty years," says Trevelyan in 1876, "have brought into existence not hundreds or thousands, but hundreds of thousands, of natives who can appreciate European knowledge when laid before them in the English language and can reproduce it in their own." The rewards were adequate. The new learning gave access to a multitude of posts for which a knowledge of English was either essential or eminently desirable; the old profession of arms became restricted to certain races and classes, partly owing to the creation of a professional army and partly to the general pacification of the country: the Princes largely disappeared and with them the entourage of their courts. But new professions arose. The Law offered both attraction and reward to youths brought up in an atmosphere of subtle dialectics. The new learning required teachers and the beginnings were made of a Press which required journalists. But the posts were not vacated as quickly as the youth of India grew up to fill them, even though the growth of

the administration and the creation of new departments offered a measure of compensation. More important still the population increased enormously: it had reached 294 million by 1901, and in 1931 it was nearly 353 million.

Unfortunately the development of other occupations did not keep pace with the spread of education. This, as we have already seen, was partly due to the want of capital. Doctors found it hard to compete with a Government service which might give inferior medical aid but at any rate gave it for nothing or at the most for very little. The great profession of commerce and industry, in which in industrial countries so many boys find occupation, was hampered not only by lack of capital, but also, it is to be feared, by distrust of the investing public, and also of would-be partners for one another. Everything was handicapped by the competition of foreign nations, who were better equipped and better organized. It would be wearisome to follow in detail a whole catalogue of professions in which these or similar obstacles are to be found; in the main it is broadly true that the growth of higher education has outstripped the supply of occupation and hence the present unemployment of the middle-class youth.

It is not, then, the over-literary nature of the instruction that is to blame so much as the lack of foresight, if that can fairly be charged to them, of those who, in their zeal for education, never noticed that a stimulation of enterprise was needed, and therefore were content to let things take their course. It is merely a counsel of perfection to ask the Government, be it British or Indian, to take the necessary measures to deal with this kind of unemployment. One asks oneself what was in the mind of the writer. Is it suggested that Government should legislate to force the people to do that which they have no intention of doing? or is it suggested that they should create superfluous posts and superfluous departments to absorb these youths? The suspicion remains that it is merely a form of words, which, while discharging the writer's responsibility, throws it upon the Government without meaning anything in particular.

I have dwelt upon this question of the unemployment of intellectuals at what may seem inordinate length, because it is one of the most serious problems which confront India today in the Department of Education. It is not merely that hundreds of youths are being turned out who are unable to make practical use of their education, but also that it is out of such disappointed material, left to brood over their disappointment, and the failure of the State to satisfy them, that disaffection and unrest are created. For the stimulation of careers propaganda and capital are required; and of these the first is a very uncertain remedy and the second the State can hardly be expected to supply. All that

the State can do is to lighten the burden of taxation, to improve communications and marketing, and to withdraw as far as possible from competition. These things are easy to say but difficult to accomplish, and when all is said and done they do not provide any real solution so long as the spirit is lacking in the people. No Government can supply that: it must come from within.

The problem of the depressed classes is in the same category. They, it seems, do not freely avail themselves of the generosity of the State in throwing open the ordinary schools to them. This is not surprising; it would indeed be surprising if they did. The depressed classes, like the castes, cannot avoid at a bound the influence of tradition, whatever the State may do, and while the castes are strong in their opposition, which they base, with mistaken tactics, on religious scruple, the depressed classes do no doubt feel the strength of the custom which bids them keep apart from those higher in the social scale. It may be also that they are guided by more material considerations, for the higher castes have it within their power to make things uncomfortable. After all there is something to be said for their attitude. We ourselves might well avoid the great public schools which encourage the admission of those for whom they were never meant. There are only two alternatives. If the State wishes to force these people into the caste schools, it must close the special ones intended for them; or else it must keep open institutions which are an uneconomic burden.

These things, however, are beyond the control of any State and any Government. They can only be solved by the slow and steady change in public opinion and by the evolution of economic conditions. The most that any State can be asked to do is to provide the means by which these changes may be brought about. Education in India, it has been said, is in a "critical state"; if that be so, it is the system which is at fault and not the application of it. An Indian State for the most part follows the example set by British India, and it cannot be blamed if it has not struck out a completely new line for itself, the more so because it is not very clear what the critics would substitute for the existing system. Judged by these standards, Hyderabad is doing all that is possible for the people, and one can only hope that the Director will be able to point to further improvements in the future.

WINTER SPORTS IN KASHMIR

By LIEUT.-COLONEL A. G. DYCE

It seems to be fairly widely known nowadays that a number of enthusiasts go up to Gulmarg every Christmas for winter sports. But there is an idea that, whilst the place is well enough for enthusiasts, snow conditions are not really good. In fact the idea lingers in the minds of many that there is something peculiar about Indian snow which makes it unsuitable for ski-ing. This is a mistaken notion. Snow conditions are every bit as good as in Europe, if not better. Three or four years ago, Mr. Harold Paumgarten, the Austrian ski champion, when touring through India, paid a week's visit to Gulmarg, and reported the snow excellent.

In Switzerland a "green" Christmas is not infrequent. So far we have not had one in Gulmarg, though last Christmas snow was very short, it is true. However, there was enough to keep fifty-four people busy, and enough to run off three races.

The terrain is good—excellent beginners' slopes all over the marg, delightful wood-running, and, above the woods, the long open slopes of Khilanmarg and Apharwat. The wood-running is a feature of Gulmarg. Woods in Switzerland are not popular with the average runner; the trees grow close together and get in the way, if one is not skilful; not infrequently you hear people allude to wood-running as "birds' nesting." At Gulmarg the trees, from a skier's point of view, are beautifully spaced, forcing one to turn, but not too often, and they make a pleasant change from the open snowfields of Khilanmarg. In fact Gulmarg has the makings of a first-rate winter sports centre. So far we have concentrated mainly on ski-ing, but skating and tobogganing are both possible and will find their adherents in time.

Another misconception about Gulmarg is that it is difficult to reach in winter. The writer has been to Gulmarg six times in winter, and found the journey easier than in summer. This applies to Christmas and March—that is, before and after the really heavy snowfalls take place. The Kashmir State clear the Tangmarg road when necessary, while the Ski Club clears a pony track from Tangmarg up to the hotel.

For the last three years Mr. Willie Nedou has opened his hotel for the Christmas and March meetings of the Ski Club, and this has added considerably to the general comfort. But it must be understood that the hotel does not possess central heating, and the standard of comfort, at present, falls a good deal below that of

Switzerland and Austria. But, as the sports attract more people, improvements will be made. In the hotel is a ski-shop, run by Mr. Pestonjee of Srinagar, where ski, skates, toboggans can be bought or hired; as also numerous other articles of equipment, from ski-wax to hotwater bottles and Gilgit boots. Those who wish to go up to Gulmarg when the hotel is not open—*i.e.*, from January 15 until March—can arrange to stay in the Ski Club hut on Khilanmarg.

Ski-running in India dates back quite a long time. In 1904, Major-General Kirkpatrick (Lieutenant Kirkpatrick as he then was) learnt to ski at Grindelwald. The following year he came out to India, bringing his ski with him, and used them crossing the Margan Pass, and in the Zaj valley, in the Wardwan, where he was shooting. Three years later he joined the Chitral Scouts, and got a certain amount of enjoyable running in the hills round Chitral, nearly coming to grief, however, one day in the Chiral Gol. The next person to ski in India seems to have been Major Kenneth Mason, who, in 1911, got out a pair of ski from home and Caulfield's *How to Ski*, and with these taught himself the elements of straight-running. He first used his ski in the Dachigam Rukh in Kashmir in April, 1911, and again in July of that year on the Kolahoi glacier, and on a number of other occasions up to 1913 in descending from his Survey stations. But the sport never really attracted him.

The war, of course, checked the development of ski-ing, and it was not until 1921 that experiments were again made. These continued at intervals till 1926, when the Ski Club of India was formed by some half-dozen enthusiasts, stationed in Northern India. The Club now numbers about 200 members, and Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Willingdon have honoured the Club by becoming patrons; as has H.H. the Maharajah of Jammu and Kashmir. H.E. Lady Willingdon has, moreover, presented us with a handsome Challenge Cup for the Ski-running Championship, which is decided on the results of a slalom and a straight race.

In recent years Razmak, Parachinar, Kulu, and Mureec have all witnessed people on ski, but the terrain of these places is not very suitable. Gulmarg, however, is as good as one could wish; whilst the northern slopes of the Pir Panjal would be excellent for touring, as soon as more Alpine huts are built. The Club already has one on Khilanmarg, recently rebuilt and enlarged.

The Club holds two meetings a year, one at Christmas from December 18 to January 8, and another in March, the spring meeting, from March 7 to 20. There are five races at Christmas (one for complete novices) and two in March, when the principal event is the Services Team Race.

Anyone interested, whether in ski-ing or tobogganing, or anyone who merely wants a pleasant holiday in the snow, and would like to know further details as regards expense, etc., should write to the Honorary Secretary, the Ski Club of India, c/o the Post Office, Rawalpindi, Punjab, or to the Manager, Nedou's Hotel, Srinagar, Kashmir.

THE KRISHNARAJASAGARA RESERVOIR*

By H. D. RICE

THE Krishnarajasagara Dam is built across the Cauvery River about 12 miles from Mysore City. The site of the dam is just below the confluence of the three rivers—the Cauvery, the Hemavati, and the Lakshmanathirtha. When the site for the proposed dam was being investigated, an old inscription stone was discovered on the banks of the Cauvery which had been placed there by Tippoo Sultan in about the year 1790, clearly indicating that he contemplated putting an anicut, or low dam, across the Cauvery at that point.

The reservoir above the Krishnarajasagara Dam is 50 square miles in area and is now the biggest artificial reservoir in India. It has naturally become the centre of attraction to all tourists and others who visit Mysore City.

The work on the construction of the dam was actually started in 1911. The dam itself is 130 feet in height and 9,200 feet in length. There are a number of sluices at different points for the purpose of drawing off water for irrigation and power.

The Krishnarajasagara scheme was sanctioned by Government in order to ensure a steady supply of water for the generation of power at the hydro-electric works at Sivasamudram as well as to irrigate about 125,000 acres of land. The construction of this reservoir has enabled Government to increase the amount of electrical energy generated at Sivasamudram from 10,000 to 46,000 horse power. The principal outlet for this power is the Kolar Gold Mines situated at a distance of 93 miles from the power station at Sivasamudram. This transmission line, when completed in 1902, was the first long-distance transmission line in India. Power is, of course, guaranteed to the various gold mining companies in the Kolar Gold Fields. It is also supplied to various industrial concerns in the State, as well as for lighting the cities of Bangalore and Mysore and many other important towns in the State. Latterly, power has also been supplied to the Madras Government for their Metur scheme across the Cauvery River, which, when completed, will be very much larger than the Krishnarajasagara.

With regard to irrigation, there is a network of canals below

* A picture of one of the fountains in the newly-constructed terrace gardens at the Krishnarajasagara Dam will be found in the Illustrated Section.

the Krishnarajasagara Dam, the principal canal being the Irwin Canal. The most interesting feature of this is the Karighatta Tunnel, cut through a range of hills of that name in a dead straight line for over 9,000 feet in length.

A word on the subject of cost may be of interest to readers. The final estimated cost of the dam is 250 lakhs (₹1,875,000). The Karighatta Tunnel cost nearly 46 lakhs (₹345,000). The canals below the dam have cost 222 lakhs (₹1,665,000).

The Krishnarajasagara Dam is built of masonry known as random rubble, hydraulic mortar being used for stone, the lime for which was obtained and burnt locally, a certain amount of Portland cement being used for the foundations. The stone for the masonry was obtained also from the adjacent hills on either flank of the dam. It will thus be seen that this magnificent reservoir has been built by local Mysore engineers from material obtained in the Mysore State, the only items purchased abroad—that is, from England—being such pieces of machinery as the portable engines, pumps, workshop fittings, and, of course, some of the sluice gates on the dam.

The capacity of the reservoir is 48,000 million cubic feet. The quantity of masonry in the dam is 30 million cubic feet. The cost of constructing the dam was 31 rupees per 100 cubic feet, or the equivalent of 5½d. per cubic foot, which is interesting when comparing the cost of similar works in Western countries. The number of sluices in the dam is 16, and there are 150 sluices in the Waste Weir, or Escape.

The irrigated area submerged in the lake on which compensation has been paid, was 12,000 acres of formerly irrigated land, and 14,000 acres of unirrigated land. Twenty-five villages were submerged in the lake, for which new sites had to be found and compensation paid.

There are 200 miles of main canals, branches and sub-branches. The following crops are being raised on the land now irrigated from this magnificent reservoir: Paddy, sugar cane, mulberry, potatoes, tobacco, onions, garlic, fruit of various kinds, vegetables and other miscellaneous crops.

SOME ASPECTS OF A CENTRAL RESERVE BANK FOR INDIA—II

By B. R. SHENOY, M.A., M.Sc.(ECON.), LONDON

IN the first article of this series we reviewed the abortive Central Banking schemes that were proposed from time to time. We shall now examine the present organization of the Indian Money Market.

The term "money market" is used to convey different conceptions. Sometimes it is taken to be closely bound up with the ordinary process of trade and industry in a country.* Others take a less comprehensive view of it, but, nevertheless, include the whole machinery of a financial centre and therefore the Stock Exchange and the instruments of company promotion.† More usually the term refers to the short-term credit organization consisting of banks, which make short-term loans; discount houses, which deal in bills; and acceptance houses, which provide trade with first-class bills by putting their name on them. Sometimes dealers in foreign exchanges are also included. In the parlance of the "City" of London the term refers to the joint stock banks, acceptance houses, bill brokers, and discount houses.

Most well-organized banking systems in the world have at their centre a Money Market, taken in the more usual sense of the term;‡ or, as in Canada and Ireland, come under the influence of a neighbouring Money Market like New York or London. The Reserve Bank of the country is at the head of the market, and the credit institutions, business and industrial firms have their head offices, branches, correspondents or representatives in it. Temporary surplus funds of the country are pooled into the market and from it are drawn the surplus requirements of the business community. The Government of the country, pending revenue receipts, draws upon the market by issuing Treasury Bills to meet current expenditure. The temper of the Money Market, therefore, in all normal times is a reliable index of the financial affluence or stringency of the country, particularly the banking system, at any given time. The Money Market also provides easy

* E.g., The Outer Money Market of F. Lavington. See *The English Capital Market* (1921), p. 6.

† E.g., F. E. Spicer : *The Money Market in Relation to Trade and Commerce* (1926), p. 18.

‡ The Swiss Banking System is an exception to this in that it has three Money Markets.

and convenient machinery for connecting one banking system with another, and therefore is responsible in large measure for the susceptibility of a country to financial disturbances generated elsewhere.

It forms the nerve centre of the financial system and, although localized in a convenient place, modern means of communication have rendered its scope almost nation-wide. And in respect of centres like London and New York, owing to the standardization of money in terms of gold, their importance is international. Viewed in this light, the London Money Market is not confined to the "City," nor the American Money Market to New York. These two markets are singularly unified and national in scope, with international importance.

A well-organized Money Market is capable of division into two important sections : the market for long- and short-term money—long-term money referring to loans having a maturity period of several years and short-term money usually to loans which mature within six months. The short-term Money Market is also divided into parts concerned respectively with the discounting of bills and the making of loans upon first-class Stock Exchange securities. It is also usual to divide the market into the open Money Market and the customers' market. Open market loans are made irrespective of the past or the future relationship with customers, each separate transaction being dealt with on its own merits. On the other hand, loans in the customers' market are guided by personal relationship between the parties : they are an incident in a series of transactions. Whereas the banks find money for their customers even when money is scarce, the customers on their part remain with their banks even when cheaper money can be had elsewhere.

On the basis of the above two sets of distinctions the Money Market of London and New York can be divided into three main sub-divisions : the long-term open market, the short-term open market, and the short-term customers' market.

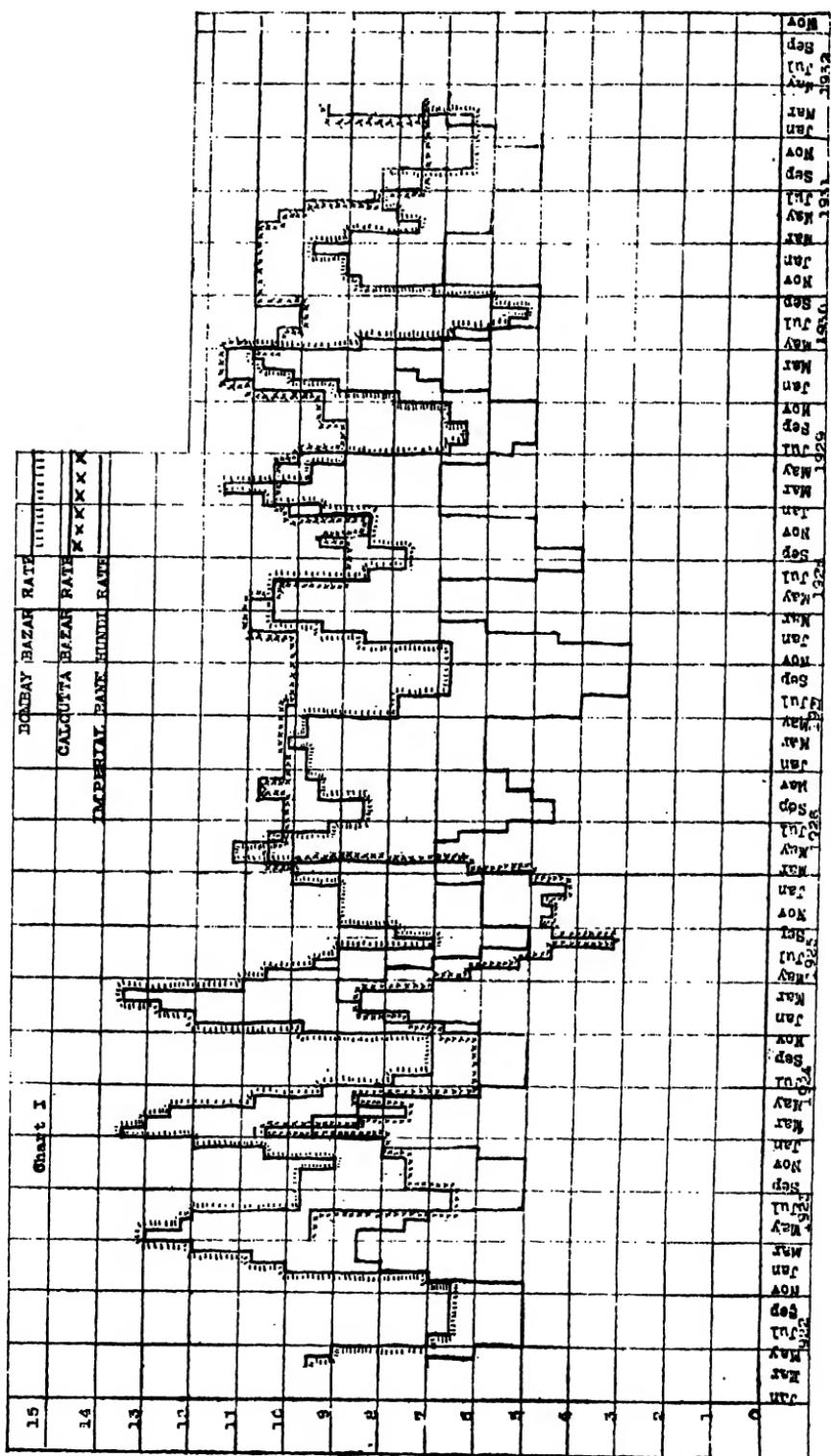
The above analysis does not apply to the Indian Money Market. In India we have not got a Money Market in the more usual sense of the term referred to above, but only a banking system. And not until after her banking system is well organized in the light of present-day experience can we hope for the formation of a Money Market as such in India. The term "Indian Money Market," therefore, has today to be taken as more or less synonymous with the term "Indian Banking System." Although there are in the country at least three great centres of financial activity—namely, Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras—none of these can be regarded as the country's financial centre in the sense that New York is such a centre for the U.S.A.

That the organization of the Money Market (or, more appropriately, lack of organization) is defective is obvious. In the first place, it is without a Central Bank to co-ordinate, supervise, and direct its operations. In this India is an exception among the civilized countries of the world. The Imperial Bank of India, although the most powerful among the banks incorporated in the country, lacks the primary attributes of a Central Bank and is incapable of exercising its functions under existing circumstances. It does not play the part of a banker's bank; its bank rate and Hundi rate are normally out of touch with the respective market rates: they merely give the appearance of controlling them during the busy season; the country's gold and currency reserves are not centralized in it; and it is not the currency authority.

In the second place, the control of credit is divorced from the control of currency. While the issue of currency is still a function of the Government, credit supply rests with the Imperial Bank, the other Joint Stock Banks and the "bazar" (the indigenous bankers and money-lenders). To this are attributed some of the greater evils of the Indian Money Market—namely, the inelasticity of money supply and the consequent seasonal fluctuation over a wide range in the money rates. The provision made in the Paper Currency Act of 1923 to issue currency up to Rs. 12 crores against bills of exchange has apparently failed to mitigate the evil. A mere extension of this limit, at present arbitrarily fixed, would not, however, go far to solve the problem, unless the control of credit and currency is vested in a Central Bank. The Central Bank would be in a better position to expand or contract currency to suit the requirements of trade than a Government Department, however well organized.

In the third place, partly for want of the unifying authority of a Central Bank and partly for historical reasons, the Indian Money Market is not an organic whole. It consists of two more or less separate parts: the *bazar*, consisting of the Indian bankers and money-lenders, and the *organized* section, consisting of the Indian Joint Stock Banks, the Imperial Bank, and the Exchange Banks. Apart from the difference in the structure of the two markets, the bazar for the great part of its functions is independent of the organized section of the market—it is almost outside the latter's influence. The bazar Hundi rates, or the rates at which the shroffs discount the Hundis of smaller traders, move practically independently of the Imperial Bank Hundi rate or the rate at which the Imperial Bank would discount first-class three months' Hundis.* The latter is out of touch with the former and is above it. This is so for two reasons: (1) The shroffs do not depend upon either the Imperial Bank or the Joint Stock Banks for even

* See Chart I.



a part of their resources, except perhaps on occasions of acute stringency, even when they first try their own brother shroffs before going to the banks.* (2) The Joint Stock Banks do not compete with the shroffs in discounting the Hundis of smaller traders.

The lack of connection between the two markets becomes apparent from the disharmony between their respective money rates. The bazar rate is usually 4 to 5 per cent. higher in Calcutta and 2 to 3 per cent. higher in Bombay than the Imperial Bank Hundi rate.† During the busy season, sometimes it is as much as 5 per cent. higher in Calcutta. Also there are occasions when the two rates do not move in the same direction.‡ Had the two markets been interconnected and formed parts of an organic whole this wide margin in the two rates would not have persisted.

The loan operations of the bazar resemble the customers' market inasmuch as personal relationship between the two parties plays a great part in their transactions, while the loan operations of the Joint Stock Banks (though not always) resemble more the "open market" of advanced monetary centres. The Joint Stock Banks, being commercial banks of the British type, supply mostly only short-term money, while the bazar deals both in short- and long-term money.

The organized section of the market, although distinct from the bazar, does not form an organic entity by itself, as incorrectly assumed by many writers on the subject. It permits of division into two sections: the Imperial Bank of India and the Indian Joint Stock Banks. This division is justified by the consideration that the control of the Imperial Bank over the latter is not only incomplete, but is absent during the slack season—*i.e.*, from about July to October. This becomes apparent from a study of the call money rates§ and the Imperial Bank rate.|| Whereas the call rates both in Calcutta and Bombay show less disparity with the Imperial Bank rate during the busy season, this dis-

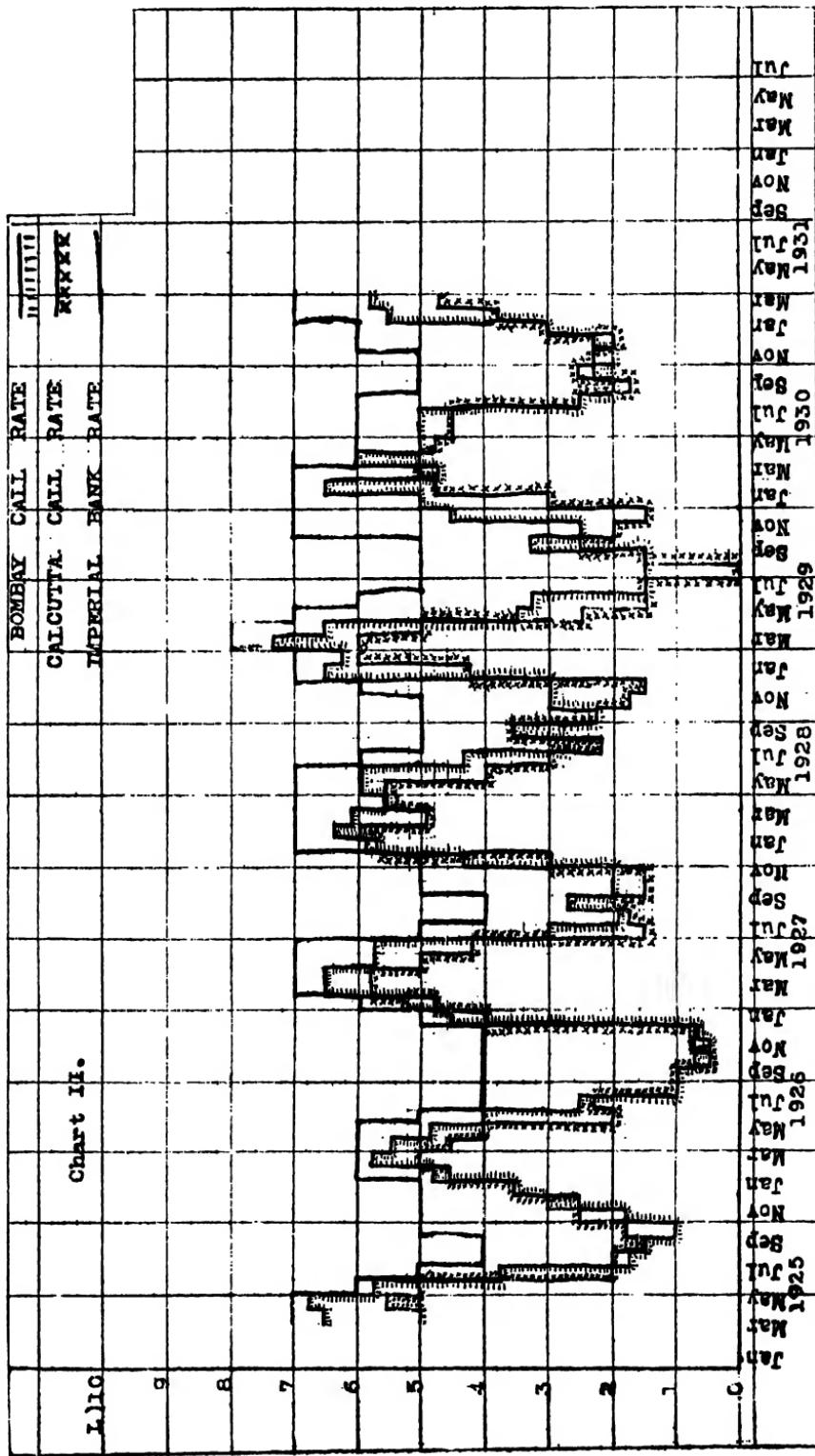
* *Bombay Banking Enquiry Committee Report*, Vol. I., p. 102.

† E.g., in January, 1929, when the Bank Hundi rate was 7 per cent. the bazar rate in Calcutta was 12 per cent.; and in April, 1930, when the Bank Hundi rate was 6 per cent. the bazar rate in Calcutta was 11 per cent. Other instances may also be cited.

‡ The Imperial Bank Hundi rate remained at 5 per cent. from July to October, 1929. But the Calcutta bazar rate rose from 10 per cent. in August to 11 per cent. in September of the same year. Later, the Bank Hundi rate was raised to 7 per cent. in November, 1929, but the Calcutta rate remained at 11 per cent.

§ Call money rates are the rates charged by the Joint Stock Banks for call loans.

|| The Imperial Bank rate, which should be distinguished from the Imperial Bank Hundi rate, is the rate at which the Imperial Bank will advance loans against Government Securities.



parity is very great in the slack season and is usually 3 or more than 3 per cent. Thus while during the busy season, particularly the more stringent parts of it, the two markets seem to merge into one, they are distinctly separate during the slack season.* The Exchange Banks, which are primarily engaged in the financing of foreign trade, may be said to form a third separate part of the organized section of the market.

In the fourth place, the Indian Money Market is not unified and national in scope, a weakness which may also be attributed in the main to the absence of the co-ordinating authority of a Central Bank. The discount rates in the several money centres do not reflect the rates in any one centre which could be called the controlling centre of the whole system.

The annual Reports of the Controller of Currency give, besides the Imperial Bank rates, the bazar rates since 1921 and the call rates since 1925 for Calcutta and Bombay. For convenience of comparison these have been drawn into two charts, one representing the trend of the bazar rates and the Imperial Bank Hundi rate (Chart I.), and the other the call rates and the Imperial Bank rate (Chart II.).

Taking first the bazar rates, these are widely different as between Calcutta and Bombay. During the busy season—November to June—they are sometimes over 3 per cent. higher in Calcutta than in Bombay. This indicates the absence of the free flow of funds between the two bazars. The rates in Madras and elsewhere in the country are not recorded or made available. But there is nothing to suggest that these would show any more dependence upon one another than the recorded rates for Bombay and Calcutta. On the contrary, it is probable that their divergence would be even greater than that between Calcutta and Bombay. For the individual banking firms in the former have less, if at all, branch and agency connections as between themselves (to allow of a free flow of funds) than the firms in Bombay and Calcutta. Thus the bazar centres in the country (both in Presidency towns and elsewhere) have little or no connection with one another. The rates in these are determined solely by the local conditions of supply and demand, custom, and such other factors almost without reference to conditions elsewhere. But it is possible that in centres like Ahmedabad closely connected with Bombay the Hundi rate may be dependent upon the rates in the latter. For absence of recorded information, however, verification of this is not possible. Nevertheless there is no co-ordination of bazars over any large part of the country, much less over the country as a whole.

The situation of the organized section of the market is not far

* See Chart II.

different from the above. Chart II. gives ample evidence of this. The Imperial Bank has one bank rate at all its branches all over the country. But since its bank rate is not effective during all parts of the year over the Joint Stock Banks, this tells us little or nothing concerning the rates charged by the latter. Also there are many centres in the country where the Imperial Bank is without a branch to be able to exercise its controlling influence, even during the busy season. The call rates in Bombay and Calcutta (see Chart II.) are indifferent to the Imperial Bank rate during the slack season. But during the busy season they seem to be less indifferent to it. How far this is evidence of the Imperial Bank controlling the Joint Stock Banks during the busy season it is difficult to say. For it is possible that both the Imperial Bank and the Joint Stock Banks are, in this period, controlled by the Government of India, which is the currency authority. The inelastic character of the currency supply makes it inevitable for both the Imperial Bank and the Joint Stock Banks to raise their rates of interest in periods of intense business activity. The call rates and the Imperial rate are alike high during this season only, owing to the common monetary stringency experienced by all the constituents of the Money Market. In itself it is no indication, therefore, of the Imperial Bank controlling the policy of the Joint Stock Banks.

But the Bombay and the Calcutta call rates are not indifferent to one another during any part of the year.* This cannot be said to be representative, however, of conditions as between any two centres in the country, which is the same thing as saying for the country as a whole. The close relationship between the call rates in Bombay and Calcutta may be attributed to a special circumstance which does not hold true of other parts of the country. Banking relations between Bombay and Calcutta are very close, and therefore allow a free flow of funds between them. Out of the thirty-three banks in Bombay as many as twenty-four have their branches or agencies in Calcutta.† The nine banks in Bom-

* This statement at first sight may seem to contradict the one made in the previous paragraph but one above. But it will be noted that the rate referred to is the bazar rate in one case and the call rate in the other.

† The following banks in Bombay have branches in Calcutta :

(1) Ajodhia Bank; (2) Allahabad Bank; (3) American Express Company Incorporated; (4) Bank of India; (5) Bank of Taiwan; (6) Benares Bank; (7) Central Bank of India (head office and four branches in Bombay and two branches in Calcutta); (8) Chartered Bank of India; (9) Crescent Bank of India; (10) Eastern Bank; (11) Frontier Bank; (12) Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation; (13) Imperial Bank of India (local head office and three branches in each centre); (14) Lloyds Bank; (15) Lyallpur Bank; (16) Mercantile Bank of India; (17) National Bank of India; (18) National City Bank of New York; (19) Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij;

bay and the seven banks in Calcutta, which have neither branches nor agencies in the other centre, command only a fraction of the banking business. Other important centres also similarly connected with Bombay are Karachi, Lahore, Delhi, and Madras.* It is possible, therefore, that the call rates in these centres also closely follow the rates in Bombay and Calcutta. But in the outlying districts of the country, owing to the absence of such co-ordinating factors, the rates would depend upon the local conditions of supply and demand. And if statistics were available these would, perhaps, show variance with the rates ruling in Bombay or Calcutta.

In the fifth place, the rates of interest in India are oppressively high and are subject to a wide range of variation as between the busy and slack seasons. Taking the bazar Hundi rates first, these vary from 8 to 11 or 12 per cent. in Bombay and from 10 to 11 or 12 per cent. in Calcutta during the busy season. During the slack season in Bombay they are between 6 and 7 per cent., and in Calcutta between 7 and 8 per cent. (1930-31), 8 and 9 per cent. (1927-28), or even 10 per cent. (1926-27). (See Chart I.) There is little chance for trade and industry financed at such high rates. Even the Imperial Bank Hundi rates—*i.e.*, rates for first-class three months' Hundis—are as high as 7 per cent. during the busy season (it went up to 8 per cent. during March and April, 1929, and also during the last quarter 1931 and January, 1932) and 5 per cent. during the slack season.† Even these rates would be considered abnormal in advanced monetary centres. In England, except on occasions of severe strain on the gold reserves, the Bank rate does not usually rise above 3½ per cent.

The call rates of the Joint Stock Banks and the Imperial Bank rate are also embarrassingly high. The Imperial rate, like the Imperial Hundi rate, usually varies between 7 and 5 per cent. The call rates in Bombay and Calcutta are somewhat below the Bank rate during the busy season. During the slack season they

(20) Nederlandsch-Indische Handelsbank; (21) P. and O. Banking Corporation; (22) Punjab National Bank; (23) Thomas Cook and Son (Bankers); (24) Yokohama Specie Bank (two branches in Bombay). Australia and China : See *Tables Relating to Banks in India* (1931).

* In Karachi out of the fourteen banks thirteen have branch or agency connections in Bombay; in Lahore twelve out of sixteen; in Delhi twelve out of sixteen; and in Madras nine out of fourteen. See *Tables Relating to Banks in India* (1931).

† Ignoring the abnormal conditions of the present world depression, only in three seasons since 1921 did the Imperial Bank Hundi rate come below 5 per cent.—e.g., August and September of 1925 and 1927, and July to December, 1926. Even during this depression it was only since August, 1932, that the Bank Hundi rate was lowered to 4 per cent. from 5 per cent. and subsequently to 3½ per cent. in March, 1933.

fluctuate between $1\frac{1}{2}$ and 3 per cent. in Calcutta and between 2 and 3 per cent. in Bombay. The average for 1930 comes to 3.44 per cent. in Calcutta and 4.02 per cent. in Bombay. But the burden on industry is much more than this average may suggest, for more business is done at the higher rate than at the lower.

Coming to the extent of variation in the money rates, this is both wide and (in the post-war world) peculiar to the Indian Money Market. The range is almost equally wide in the bazar as in the call rates. It is sometimes as much as 5 and 6 per cent. A range of about 3 per cent. is considered normal. The width of fluctuations in the Imperial Bank rate itself is usually 2 and sometimes 3 per cent.* Curiously, this seasonal variation is regarded in the bazars as almost a natural phenomenon, and the idea that the fluctuation in the rates can be smoothed down by regulating the money supply to the requirements of industry and trade does not seem to have taken root. Reference has been made above to the inadequate provisions at present obtaining for rendering the currency system sufficiently elastic.

Though the lack of organization and absence of centralized control do play a part, the chief reason for the embarrassingly high rates of interest in India seems to be the inadequacy of funds in the Money Market, which in turn can be traced to several factors, among them the Treasury System of the Government and the age-long hoarding habits of the people. The first of these two factors is responsible for keeping away from the market a part of the Government balances. This has been appreciably reduced since the Government adopted the practice of maintaining its balances with the Imperial Bank in such of the centres as the latter has branches. But the amount locked up in Government Treasuries is still large. On March 31, 1933, this was Rs. 3.71 crores, the monthly average for the year 1932-33 being Rs. 2.20 crores.† If we add to this the Treasury balances left in England —namely, Rs. 13.22 crores—the total balances in Government Treasuries on March 31, 1933, come to Rs. 16.93 crores.

The real cost of this to the Money Market becomes apparent when we notice that the cash balances of the Imperial Bank on March 31, 1933, were about Rs. 26.44 crores. Thus the balances in the Treasuries were about 64 per cent. of the cash balances

* It is interesting to compare this with the variation in the Bank rate of England. Andreades, in comparing the situation as between England and the Continent, states : "What is still more serious is that the fluctuations in the English Bank rate are not only very serious, but are also very great. The Bank of England is the only bank at which the range of fluctuation during the same year has on three occasions amounted to 5, 6, and $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent." See *History of the Bank of England*, pp. 315-316.

† *Report of the Controller of Currency (1932-33)*, p. 59.

of the Imperial Bank. It is difficult to say what amount of credit the Money Market could create if the full amount of the Government balances were made available to the Imperial Bank. But some idea of it can be had from the fact that ratio of the deposit liabilities of the Bank (Rs. 82.36 crores) to cash comes to about 3·1. The relief to the Money Market would therefore be clearly great. But not until the establishment of a Reserve Bank would the Government find it convenient to abolish the practice of keeping some Treasury balances with itself.

Large as are the balances locked up in the Government Treasuries they appear trifling compared with the vast hoards of the people. Indian hoards have been variously estimated at Rs. 500 crores (£375 millions), Rs. 825 crores (£618.8 millions), Rs. 943 crores (£707 millions), and Rs. 1,333.3 crores (£1,000 millions).*

It has been attempted by some to show that these estimates are an exaggeration inasmuch as they seem to include the normal demand for ornaments; that they fall short of the *per capita* consumption of gold of some of the Western countries; that the Indians' fondness for ornaments should be regarded as only a type of misguided expenditure like that of the Western wage-earners on beer; and that therefore these should not be counted as hoards and so on. We need not enter into the validity of these explanations. They cannot, however, deny that India today can ill afford the ornaments her people indulge in, and that she should not compete in the *per capita* consumption of gold with the richer countries of the world even if she were capable of it. The misguided expenditure of her people on jewellery does relatively greater harm to themselves, by impoverishing them and their country, than the drinking habit of European wage-earners. The hoards are responsible in no small measure for the strain on the Money Market.

This reminds us of the poor provision of banking facilities in India, which is inadequate to the real needs of the country. Government statistics show that there are at present in India only about 162 head offices of banks, with 744 branches.† There are no banks at all in about 20 per cent. of the towns with a population of 50,000, and in 25 per cent. of the towns with a population of 10,000 and over. In these areas banking requirements of the public are provided for by the individual bankers, money-lenders, Co-operative Credit Societies, and Post Office Savings Banks. If we divide the total of bank deposits in the country into the total population we get the *per capita* banking deposits of Rs. 6.8,

* F. L. Price : *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, Vol. LXXVI., No. 3916, December 2, 1927; discussion on M. M. S. Gubbay's paper on "Indigenous Indian Banking."

† *Tables Relating to Banks in India* (1931), p. 3.

or about 10·2 shillings. Even taking into account the abject poverty of the people, this sum in arithmetic shows that a large part of the liquid resources in the country are held by the people in cash rather than in bank deposits. To what extent this habit is due to the lack of banking facilities available or whether the backwardness of banking progress itself can be traced to it, it is difficult to say. One factor certainly reacts upon the other, and the influence of the former upon the latter should not be overlooked, as is done by some who seem to think that a mere multiplication of bank offices would lead to the desired goal. Though there is room in India for the extension of banking facilities, the spread of banking habits, more particularly the Savings Bank habits, through education and propaganda, should at least keep pace with, if not precede it.

The chief constituents of the Indian Money Market are the Exchange Banks, the Imperial Bank of India, and the Indian Joint Stock Banks. The Exchange Banks (eighteen in number) are incorporated outside India and carry on business in India through branches. At first they were primarily engaged in financing the foreign trade of the country and business in foreign exchanges. But latterly they have been taking an increasing part in the country's deposit banking business. Some of them are giant institutions with ramifications round the world or over the larger part of it. The capital and reserves of seven of them* taken severally are higher than the capital and reserves of the Imperial Bank of India, the biggest among the Banks incorporated in India.

The Imperial Bank of India, though smaller than the larger among the Exchange Banks, is the strongest among the banks incorporated in the country. Its capital and reserves equalled about 90 per cent. of the combined total of the capital and reserves of all the Indian Joint Stock Banks in 1928. Its deposits are more than the total deposits of the Indian Joint Stock Banks, and, with the exception of 1921 and 1922, also more than the total Indian deposits of the Exchange Banks. Except for the year 1922, this statement would hold true even if we exclude the Public Deposits —*i.e.*, Government of India Deposits of the Imperial Bank.

The Indian Joint Stock Banks, relatively to the Exchange Banks and the Imperial Bank of India, form the least important constituents of the Indian Money Market. Their deposits are less than those of the Imperial Bank, while their capital and reserves are only somewhat higher than the latter. The largest among

* They are : Lloyds Bank, Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij, Banco National Ultiamarins, Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, Comptoir National d'Escompte de Paris, National City Bank of New York, and Yokohama Specie Bank.

Ispahan are indeed well hidden, chadar, piché, and leggings making the streets very crow-like, for that city is one of the most difficult and backward, on account of the enormous influence of the 10,000 Mullahs of four years ago and the 1,000 who are there today. There, unveiling is illegal, only one woman having permission to go unveiled in the summer of 1933. Near Ispahan is the large Armenian town of Julfa, whose Christian women go uncovered, so that the stranger who does not know the district might think that Muslim women were unveiled.

The chadar is the symbol of the segregation of the sexes, of woman's imprisonment, of man's aggressiveness; many of the younger men and women wish to abolish it, but some of the more thoughtful and serious believe that the majority of men and women, both in "civilized" Tehran and in the more backward provinces, are not yet ready for so radical a change. "Women who only have a social life with husband, father, and son know not how to do with strange mens. And the mens is the same with the ladies. If the chadar go off now, then men and women are as savages in their life together. We must educate still some years." That is what a beautiful, educated young Persian woman said time after time. She was unhappy at the delay, but she wanted the women of Persia to arrive at their goal without too many tragedies by the way. She had the patience of a child of an old culture.

At present, in many towns and many families, the chadar hides the girl from the man until they are actually married, and he sees her for the first time in a looking-glass. Many young men now dread the day when their family will expect them to marry, knowing they will have no choice, for in the freest present conditions they have to guess at the real nature of their future wives.

It is possible that the passing of the chadar may ultimately be due to the refusal of the men to marry a woman they have never seen properly. To marry is an essential part of the life of every Persian woman, so that even the very conservative families are willing that it should be dropped if it is the only way to get a husband.

"CIVILIZED" TEHRAN AND THE CHADAR

Tehran in its attitude to the chadar, as in many other ways, is far more progressive than the provinces. Today there is a secret understanding that if women like to go unveiled they may do so, and if annoyed by any Mullah or ordinary citizen the police will protect them, but, in spite of this potential freedom, it seems astounding to us Westerners that only about 1,000 out of the 60,000 women in the capital go about unveiled, wearing a hat;

and a number of these, in order not to be conspicuous, talk French or English so that they may be regarded as members of the foreign colony. The reasons for this are many and complicated. The chadar was at first used only by the nobles and was gradually adopted by the other classes, and today the fact that the upper-class women cling to the chadar gives it a social status which is difficult to fight; even in a village where the women usually go unveiled the richer peasant will buy the all-enveloping black garment as a visible sign of his possessions.

Only wealthy women can afford good clothes from their skins upwards, for good materials are expensive and good dressmakers are scarce and their charges exorbitant. Although cosmetics are extensively used there are few well-groomed women. A hairdresser trained in Paris said that many women would not have their hair cut often enough to look smart as they begrimed the expense.

There are many women, even young ones, so used to the chadar that they like it, and other young people who regard it as a national costume and therefore to be preserved as part of the new nationalism. There are men who like it "because it gives a certain mystery and excitement to every walk down the street; each woman in a chadar is a possible beauty until you have looked well to find the contrary, and, of course, it is most useful for intrigues."

People in the provinces frequently have an idea that the majority of the women in Tehran go unveiled. The provinces don't know Tehran, and Tehran is not typical of Persia.

Certainly whilst women's clothes, particularly in the provinces, are so inferior, the chadar plays a merciful part, for it has simple lines, at times really beautiful lines, and is held with considerable grace by some women.

MARRIAGE

Many Europeans imagine that the black of the chadar is the external sign of black despair and unhappiness, but they are mistaken: the average Persian woman is no more unhappy than the average woman in the West, because their demands are so few, their aspirations non-existent; they are brave, often gay in the present and hope for paradise in the future. More than one man has said, "If my wife has a full stomach, a new pair of shoes now and then, especially if they are red, and I don't beat her, she is content." In spite of the arranged marriages, some turn out very well. There are happy marriages in Persia; that must not be forgotten.

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them—namely, the Central Bank of India—has only about one-fourth the capital and reserves and about one-fifth the deposits of the Imperial Bank. In 1931 their total number was 159, but six of them* accounted for about 77 per cent. of their deposits. The Indian Joint Stock Banks (most if not all) therefore are diminutive entities as compared with their colleagues in trade—the Exchange Banks and the Imperial Bank of India.

To summarize our conclusions, the Indian Money Market makes a poor comparison with the leading money markets of the West. Its present state of disorganization is reminiscent of the American Money Market before the establishment of the Federal Reserve System.

It is not unified and national in scope. There are almost as many Money Markets in India as there are centres of industrial and commercial activity. Even these individual monetary centres are not organic in character. They have their "bazar" and "organized" sections which are more or less distinct from one another. The "organized" section of the market does not form an organic entity. The Imperial Bank, the Indian Joint Stock Banks, and the Exchange Banks form three sub-sections of it.

There is no Central Reserve Bank to co-ordinate, supervise, and control the operations of the market. Control of the currency is divorced from the control of credit. The system of currency is notoriously inelastic. Money rates in the several monetary centres of the country do not seem to show signs of interdependence. The Imperial Bank rate is out of touch with the rates in the "bazar" and the "organized" section of the market. The rates of interest are oppressively high. They fluctuate over a wide range during the active and inactive seasons of the year. The Banking System has failed to attract the vast hoards of the people and banking facilities at present available are inadequate to the real needs of the country.

* They are : The Central Bank of India, the Allahabad Bank, the Bank of India, the Bank of Mysore, the Bank of Baroda, and the Punjab National Bank.

PERSIAN WOMEN

By MRS. O. A. MERRITT-HAWKES

(The author has just returned from an extensive tour in Persia)

THE CHADAR

PERSIAN city streets are far from gay, for nearly every woman wears the black chadar, a long garment of silk or cotton, a part fastened round the waist in front like an apron and the rest draped over both body and head and held close around or over the face with one hand. The most conservative of the poor also wear, to cover entirely the face, a long white cloth called the rabendeh, which is fastened at the back of the head by a jewelled clasp and which has a small piece of fine, drawn threadwork opposite the eyes through which they can, rather mistily, see the world. This is called, poetically, "The eye of the nightingale," but a truer name would be "The eye of the prisoner."

The better-off have replaced the rabendeh by a semi-transparent, stiffened, square eye-shade, the piché, which is more or less pulled down over the eyes and suggests the beak of a grotesque bird. This was introduced from Iraq about twenty years ago to the western town of Kermanshah and has gradually made its way eastwards until it is found in every Persian town. The costume is completed among the poor or the excessively conservative by a pair of gathered gaiters, which make the legs quite successfully unattractive.

The coloured chadar, which has no apron front, worn by some but not all village women, is made of thick cotton material, frequently home spun, which does not fall in pleasant folds and so gives the women an unpleasantly lumpy appearance.

None of the tribeswomen wear a chadar, but look confidently out at the world, swinging along alluringly in their twelve skirts, each made of twelve yards of gay material. Their walk is one of the loveliest things in Persia.

Persian cities are often 200 to 300 miles apart, and, until recently, there has been little communication, so that each has its own character. The women of Shiraz are comparatively gay and progressive, a few even have permission from the head of the police to go into the street without a chadar. In that charming city many do not wear a piché or make any effort to hide their faces. In Bushire, women are more conservative, wearing a black rabendeh and hiding even their eyes. The women of

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to modernize the condition of the women, so early in 1933 a law was passed which greatly improved life. The law does not exactly state the age at which a girl may be married—that would have brought the law into serious conflict with religious law—but it is generally interpreted as being sixteen. Few people have any birth certificates, so age is a matter of guessing. The larger the town the more carefully the marriage age is controlled, but even in small villages, where interference from Tehran seems rather impertinent to the peasant, many of the mothers are glad to have the backing of the law in protecting their girls.

Marriage now has to take place in the office of a registered Mullah, where official papers are kept, and in the presence of a civil representative of the department. The ceremony is in Arabic.

The new law also makes it compulsory for the man to get the permission of the first wife before he takes a second wife or sigheh (temporary wife), and a woman has to receive a legal statement from a prospective husband as to whether he is already married and see it in the presence of a Mullah, when the man must give evidence that he can keep two wives at the same standard as the first. Theoretically this means that polygamy can only take place with the consent of the women; hence a young and ardent believer in monogamy who wanted Persia to develop quickly, stated with complete conviction that polygamy had been abolished, but on his identity card there were spaces for four wives. It is said by many that not one woman in a thousand will accept polygamy, but the husband can and does sometimes say to the wife, "Consent to a second wife or I will divorce you," and, for social or economic reasons, she has to accept the position; he can and also does persuade a woman to become a second wife on the grounds that he will divorce the first whom he no longer loves, and then he keeps the first woman because it may be cheaper than to pay her dowry or because he has scruples about turning her adrift.

There is no doubt that the tendency among the better educated is towards monogamy. "Only because they can no longer afford to be polygamists," said a cynic, but the truth is that those who have tried the experiment, find the monogamic household, not necessarily monogamic life, more peaceful, more satisfying.

Marriage is, on account of easy divorce, far less certain than in Europe, but the woman has some protection. On marriage all but the quite indigent have a dowry provided by the man; at times a part is paid her on marriage, but usually it is kept for her in case he divorces her or on his death. Too much is said about this dowry, for it is rarely large enough to support a woman for more than a few years.

Divorce takes place because people wish it, but if the woman divorces the man she loses her dowry, so, unless very rich, she is actually tied economically.

It is now illegal to deceive either about the age or looks of the other, so that the old scandal of a man being married to a hag, described as a houri, or girl to a dotard who has been impersonated by a handsome young man has almost disappeared.

THE SIGHEH OR TEMPORARY WIFE

By paying a sum to the parents, a man may make a temporary marriage for any time from a day to 99 years: at the end of the arranged period the wife goes, but the man is responsible for their children, who have the same status both socially and economically as the children of the ordinary wife. The man is also responsible for the sigheh for three months after she is dismissed. Usually they are women of a lower class, and amongst the tribes must be women of another tribe. There is now a strong sentiment against this marriage, and no doubt in a short time it will become illegal.

A Muslim cannot, at present, contract a permanent marriage with a non-Muslim woman, so the Persian marries the European for the longest possible sigheh marriage—that is, 99 years. Muslim women also enter voluntarily into sigheh marriages.

CHILDBIRTH AND ILLNESS

Puberty begins about the age of twelve. Until the new law, marriage was often completed before puberty and girls were mothers at a very early age. Apart from the physical harm done to girls married to men much older than themselves, the first birth was frequently painful and dangerous.

Birth control methods are now being used in Tehran and to a much smaller degree in other cities, but some women complain that their husbands will use certain methods to prevent disease but not to prevent conception. With the disappearance of the large family, women may wake up and try to do more to educate themselves and help the unfortunates.

The infantile death rate is appalling. Hygiene is now taught in some schools. The missionary schools are doing splendid work, and if the Government would copy the English Welfare Centre at Kerman the death rate would go down.

A woman is expected to have a baby at the latest after she has been married a year and a half, and if she does not do so, the husband and both families are deeply chagrined, and preparations may be made for a divorce or a second wife.

Probably there are a number of fertility rites. I met one in Agda, a ruined town in the southern desert. When at last, after walking for a quarter of an hour, I met some women, they invited me into their tumble-down rooms, asked me to sit on a cheap rug and offered tiny green grapes and pomegranates. There was much conversation before they learned I had only three children. They then pulled me up from the ground; a woman began to drum out a rhythm on my empty camera case and the other women danced round me singing an incantation for a large family. Suddenly they stopped, the chief woman slapped me and said I would now have ten children. Perhaps I ought not to have protested, for there may have been a further ritual. I can find no one who has had a similar experience. In that remote place they had no knowledge of anti-foreign feeling; we were just women together, had had a pleasant friendly half-hour, and they were sorry for my misfortune.

There is a good deal of illness among middle-class women because their lives are so unhealthy. The chadar plays an unhygienic part, being the cause, some doctors think, of the large amount of tuberculosis among women. They are now generally quite willing to go to a doctor, but they do not have nearly enough medical attention when it is available, as the average Persian objects to paying doctors' bills.

DAILY LIFE

When the weekly holiday begins on Thursday the poorer women go to the cemeteries and the men to the tea houses. That about sums up the position of the majority of the women in Persia. It looks depressing to us, but the Persian gets a lot of satisfaction out of weeping, and still more out of her tea party round the samovar.

No one can make a general statement about Persia, for, being in a state of rapid change, there are, side by side, survivals from the early centuries as well as the most modern conduct. But what needs emphasis is that the best and most advanced women do not want to pretend that all is well when so much is bad, and they are, individually, doing their best to improve things within their small circle. Because of their inability to unite they fail to get beyond that small circle. The Westerner, burdened by the squalor, hopelessness, and sorrow, too often forgets to tell of efforts being made to abolish them or the great difficulties in making any change. It is almost impossible for a new race like ours to realize the strength of an enormously old tradition. Human inertia in Persia is unbelievable until you have lived some time in its enervating climate.

There is even greater contrast between the rich and the poor than in Europe; the poor woman works incessantly, the rich does nothing incessantly, for normally she has a very simple social life—no sport, no time spent on charity, and no travel. One man said, "They simply wish to sit or lie, eat sweetmeats and receive the salaams of the men. Some are no better than statues." There are exceptional women who administer their estates with great ability and masculine firmness. Europeans who have had business relations with them are often impressed with their good brains. In Tehran the rich now have large bridge parties and "at homes," when they are the most charming and gracious hostesses, showing that genius for hospitality for which the Persians have had, for centuries, world-wide fame. A beautiful, graceful, self-possessed Persian woman is worth going far to see, but as yet they are few, the majority being painfully awkward with strangers.

Other wealthy women spend some time in the kitchen, at least making sweetmeats and preserves, and all women, if their houses are to be clean, must spend a good many hours walking after their army of lazy, careless, and inefficient servants in their great, wandering houses.

Then there are children, who, being badly brought up, take an enormous amount of time and energy; they begin life by being fed whenever they cry, are always being nursed, and go on in that disorderly manner, the girls shy and the boys, whilst shy abroad, are little beasts of aggression to the females of the house. Even in wealthy families the children are constantly in evidence, the well-behaved ones sitting silent when there are guests.

There is one women's society in Persia, Vatan Khahan (The Wellwishes of the Fatherland), but that has lately had its numbers reduced from 200 to 40. A pity, as it was doing good work in giving its members lectures and running a night school for adult women. There are two women's papers doing useful work in emphasizing the need for more education and for intelligent and responsible mothers. The editor of *Ayandeh Iran* (The Future of Iran) is an interesting woman, Fakhe Adel Kheiatbau, who leads a full life, for she has five children, and teaches in a girls' school as well as running this paper with her husband. She is content with a simple life as long as she can work to push her people forward.

THE CINEMA

The cinema has made an enormous difference to the women of the towns. In some districts they sit on one side, the men on the other, but in Tehran may, at times, sit together.

By this means the many women who cannot read—even in

Tehran not more than 10 per cent.—can see a new and wonderful life, and, being very observant, little escapes them. The cinema more than anything else is making the women discontented, and from that alone will come change: ten years hence there will be more unhappy women in Persia than today, but fifty years hence perhaps the Persian women will be happier than the Europeans.

There is romantic love in Persia, although with the chadar it is rare and difficult to attain. To the vast majority of town dwellers, who did not read, it was unknown until the cinema came. The cinema in Persia, though its effects may be dangerous to the thoughtless, has popularized and made comprehensible the idea of romantic love with its essential qualities of self-sacrifice, devotion, and fair play. Out of the welter of the murders and vice of the oldest, cheapest, worn-out, cut-up Hollywood films, the Persian sees men and women who are ready to lay down their lives for one another. The effect on the Persian is both startling and surprising. The cinema has struck a great blow at the chadar, which makes the woman the possession of her family first and her husband second, rather than an individual with her own needs for self-expression. No European could have foreseen such a result.

The poems of Firdausi and Nizami both have stories of romantic love, but, except to a few, those stories are so far away that they have no effect upon modern life, but the cinema is of today.

But this happened only a few years ago: A man of noble family saw on the street, and fell in love with, a woman of a lower class. He had followed her because there was a charming grace about her movements, and when she saw him, attracted by his good looks, she opened her veil a little that he might see her. They had many clandestine meetings in covered carriages outside the town, and he decided to marry her. The family was very opposed to such a marriage and thought they could put an end to the romance when it was discovered that the girl was a consumptive, but he said, "Better love for a few years than the marriages I have seen, and if I do get ill, well, I shall at least have lived." The two went off to Tehran, to be away from their families, and there had some years of happiness. She died, and he was heartbroken. A few months later he developed the disease, but refused to do anything to help himself; life had no longer any attraction, and he, too, died.

By chance, I sat one evening by his tomb with a group of mourning friends. "He died young, but he loved," said the man next to me. "One of our poets wrote, 'A life of misery is perhaps not too much to pay for a moment of love.'"

EDUCATION

The education of the women is far behind that of the men because their schools are more recent, less numerous, and the standard is lower.

The work which the English and American schools have done for Persia is beyond praise: without the influence of the splendid women at their head, Persia would not be nearly as far along the road to progress, for they are teaching the girls to think, to be practical, to develop their characters. In many Persian schools dressmaking, cooking, and domestic science are taught, but practice takes a second place. The Singer sewing machine plays a big part even in small schools, not only for making dresses, but for machine embroideries. To do fine embroidery is very genteel, and in a land which has produced some of the world's loveliest designs the modern woman spends hours producing pussies sporting with bunches of violets or pansies marching in Victorian disarray over a square of satin! A little piano, a little violin, and much playing of the Persian guitar is the finishing touch to the rich girl's education. Who would expect to meet the Victorian age in Persia?

To speak either French or English is the ambition of many women, but such knowledge is playing an enormous part in the progress of the women, for modern books in Persia are few; but give a girl a European language and she begins to see a new world.

OCCUPATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

Educated women can be teachers, nurses, and midwives. Persia lacks facilities for the proper training for teachers; the so-called Normal Training College in Tehran is only an ordinary school to which are added lessons on pedagogy and psychology, but there is no experimental teaching. In most cases you become a teacher because you want to, but even of such people there are not nearly enough.

Nurses are properly trained at the missionary hospitals and possibly at two hospitals in Tehran. The best training is in the Military Hospital, where there is one woman doctor, a curious phenomenon in a Muslim country.

Midwives have an adequate training only at one hospital in Tehran, and there, when the new doctor tried to introduce modern methods, half the students left, for they wanted to attend hospital in street dresses; to learn to make a bed was below their dignity, and to empty a bed-pan was, according to their point of view, quite out of the picture. But the head will succeed in

a few years and send out midwives who will be an untold boon to Persian motherhood.

There are about a dozen women working as clerks in the National Bank at Tehran.

A few women, generally not of good class, are actresses and singers, but in no case is it a full-time job on which anyone could live.

Two Muslim women have shops in Tehran.

Monogamy must make a radical difference to the future, and with increased medical service women are going to live instead of die. Something will have to be found for them to do. During the next few years thousands will be needed as teachers and nurses, and when the chadar goes there will be an enormous demand for good dressmakers and beauty specialists.

RELIGION

In Persia, as everywhere else in the world, women cling to religion more than the men, but only a few have an intelligent knowledge of their faith, as the majority cannot read the Arabic Koran. Many of the educated are ceasing to be devout, but only a few have become freethinkers. The new religion, Bahaism, has a great attraction for women, as it accepts them on an equality with men, gives them education, a place on its councils, and an opportunity for social intercourse. This body is doing splendid work in starting girls' schools all over the country. In their schools I found a number of intelligent and earnest-minded women who were modest about their learning, but anxious to do their best for the students, inspired by the hope that in this time of national change they were playing a worthy part. When talking to these women I felt that neither race nor nationality was any barrier between us.

THE FUTURE

What has happened in the West will happen in the East, but the Persian woman will probably reach her freedom without so many women having to pass through the stage of unscientific feminism which was founded upon an effort to become men rather than to be free women. There will be struggles, there will be unhappiness, greatest in those marriages between an advanced woman and a man who thinks he is advanced.

An unusually able man, aged only forty, said fiercely, "We of the East will keep our Eastern ideas of women, the chadar, complete obedience, no contact with other men," and then quoted with gusto this proverb: "A wise man has copper dishes that

they may not break, strong carpets that they may not wear out, but he keeps each wife a short time and finds his pleasures in the bazaar." But that man will die, and those who take his place will have a different point of view.

Undoubtedly if conditions were improved the women of all classes would get much more out of life than they do today, and, what is of equal importance, they could add their share of ability, energy, and care to the development of the nation.

STEAM NAVIGATION TO THE EAST INDIES

EARLY EFFORTS—THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NEDERLAND LINE--RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

BY JOHN DE LA VALETTE

By reason of their strategic position at the mouth of the Rhine and the entrance to the English Channel, and their great commercial development, the "Low Countries" have occupied an important place in Britain's political and commercial policy. Somewhat similar has been the position of Java, and of the Dutch East Indies generally, in relation to Britain's Eastern Empire, both as a trade rival and as lying athwart Britain's communications with Australia and China. The development of the Netherlands and of their Eastern Colonial Empire are therefore matters of direct interest to Englishmen in many parts of the Empire. Since this development ultimately rests on the means of communication between the East Indies and the "Motherland," as the colonial Dutch call Holland, a short account of the principal factor in the development of these communications, the *Nederland Royal Dutch Mail Line*, may not be without interest to readers of the ASIATIC REVIEW.

EARLY VOYAGES

The speed and comfort of modern means of travel have within living memory improved with such startling rapidity that it is often hard to realize how slow and comfortless the voyage to the East Indies used to be, even not very long ago, or how little improvement there had been until the middle of last century. My grandfather, for instance, recorded with satisfaction the comfortable passage he made as a boy from Java to Holland, in 1820, in a bark of not quite three hundred tons, which took only 121 days. Yet as long ago as 1639 the good ship *Haerlem* had performed the reverse journey in 115 days, and the *Nieuw Amsterdam* in 114 days.

Such passages were, however, somewhat exceptional at that time. The average time taken about that period by 26 ships, of which detailed records are available, works out at 185 days, that is to say, about half a year. In fact, when the *Gouden Leeuw* made the voyage in 1621 in 126 days she thereby secured a reward of twelve hundred guilders for her captain and officers. Fully two hundred years later, however, voyages of 100 to 120 days were still considered normal.

From the middle of last century on a good deal of attention was devoted to the question of improving the communications between Holland and Java, partly by the improved construction of the ships themselves, along lines based upon the experience of the American clipper ships, and partly by the issuing of improved sailing directions, which enabled masters to make a better use of the prevailing winds and currents at different seasons. The Royal Dutch Meteorological Institute took a leading part in this scientific research, and in 1870 its director issued a report showing the improvement achieved about that time in the average duration of the voyages to Java. According to his figures, the average duration of a number of voyages from the Lizard to Strait Sunda had, prior to 1857, been 110·3 days. For the whole of the period from 1857 to 1870 that average had been reduced only to 102·7 days. But it was claimed that, largely as a result of the new sailing directions, the average for voyages during the last couple of years had actually been brought down to 91 days.

Even this figure had, however, been beaten by the three Dutch "express sailers," *Noach I*, *Noach II*, and *Noach III*, which maintained a regular service to the East Indies. One of these swift vessels had actually anchored in the roadstead off Batavia to the thundering salute from the guardship's guns on the eightieth day after sailing from Rotterdam.

All these voyages had, naturally, been made by the Cape route, for the Suez Canal had not yet been constructed. Nevertheless, for mails and passengers a speedier route had, as the result of Lieutenant Waghorn's persevering efforts, been opened up "overland," as it was called, since it meant crossing the Egyptian Isthmus from Alexandria to Suez. By this route the voyage from Holland to Java had been reduced to 59 days in 1840. It was still further brought down—namely to 50 days, by 1848, and by 1859, after completion of the railway through Egypt, it only required 42 days.

Although this represented a substantial advantage in mere duration over the direct sea route, and the overland voyage lacked the monotony of the former, it was not without its difficulties, even its hazards. For travellers from Holland there was first the long journey by stage coach, and partly by train, to either Marseilles or Trieste. Then came the passage by French or Austrian paddle steamer to Alexandria. From here followed the overland trek via Cairo to Suez, a somewhat primitive undertaking, at any rate until the completion of the railway in 1859.

From Suez passengers would take the "Calcutta Line" as far as Point de Galle, thence continuing by the "Hongkong Line" to Singapore, from whence the final lap to Batavia would be accomplished by the local connection. Apart from being on the whole

comfortless, this route was expensive. The through fare of between 2,500 and 3,000 guilders (about £200 to £250 at the par of exchange) was about three times as high as the passage money demanded by direct sailing vessel. But there was a saving of some 40 days in time—and even in those days time frequently meant money.

STEAM AND THE SUEZ CANAL

Meanwhile two events were profoundly affecting the situation : the application of steam to ship propulsion, and the plans of Ferdinand de Lesseps for the cutting of a canal across the Isthmus of Suez. In the matter of steam navigation, attempts had early been made in Java, but with little success. In 1825, a paddle steamer, the *Van der Capellen*, had been built at Sourabaya to maintain a regular service between that port and Batavia. Although she actually reached the latter place early in 1826, she gave scanty satisfaction thereafter, and the service was abandoned.

Nor were the attempts made in Holland more successful. In 1826 the *Netherlands Steamboat Company* of Rotterdam completed a paddle steamer, the *Atlas*, intended to run in the East Indies service. She was 239 feet over all, had three engines, and was arranged to carry 200 passengers. Unfortunately her engines proved so inefficient that she never started on her journey, and in 1832 she was scrapped.

After that a couple of "pirate ships" were ordered to be built for the account of the Dutch Government, the curious name being that given to Government vessels intended for patrolling service against local pirates in the Archipelago. They were ordered from the same company, and their fate was equally unfortunate. The *Orestes* was never able to start on her first voyage at all, while the *Plyades* foundered as soon as she reached the open sea.

A rather more successful attempt was made next by the *Amsterdam Steamboat Company*, which built the *Willem I* so that she could proceed to Java as a fully rigged ship, there to be converted into a paddle steamer. After completing the transformation in 1836, she was put into commission, but while transporting the Governor of the Moluccas to Amboina in 1837, she ran aground on the Lucipara rocks and became a total wreck.

Notwithstanding all these failures, there remained those in Holland who pinned their faith to iron ships propelled by steam. About the middle of last century quite a number of plans were submitted to the Dutch Government in regard to the establishment of regular mail and passenger services to and from Java by steamships, but none of these ever materialized, and in 1855 three prominent Amsterdam merchants put forth another plan, this

time based on clipper ships, which were to maintain a monthly service, each single journey being calculated to average sixty days, and, of course, to be undertaken around the Cape.

Meanwhile, however, Ferdinand de Lesseps had secured his concession for the construction of the Suez Canal, and consequently suggestions for regular services round the Cape ceased to be of interest to the Dutch Government.

Steam navigation under the Dutch flag had, however, been most unsuccessful during the years which preceded the opening of the Suez Canal, and by 1869 there was still no apparent prospect of any satisfactory service being organized under Dutch auspices. Had it not been for the intervention of Prince Henry of the Netherlands, brother to King Willem I, and the consequent establishment of the *Nederland Steam Navigation Company*, it is probable that British ships would have largely ousted the Dutch from their trade with their own colonies.

A SCOTTISH SHIOPOWNER

Curiously enough it was a Scottish shipowner and shipbuilder who took the steps which were ultimately to result in the founding of the premier steam navigation company of Holland, the *Nederland Line*. In the summer of 1869 John Elder, a shipowner and builder on the Clyde, approached, through H. S. van Santen of Liverpool, an Amsterdam shipbroker by the name of G. J. Boelen, who was the senior partner in the firm of de Vries and Co., with a scheme for a regular steamship line to the East Indies via the Suez Canal. Elder was to supply the bulk of the capital as well as the ships, while Boelen was to find the cargoes. For this latter purpose the support of the Netherlands Government was essential, as under the "culture system," then in force, the Government was the principal shipper of homeward cargo from the Indies.

By the end of July Boelen was able to put a concrete proposal before the Dutch authorities to which, in a surprisingly short time, he received a reply, but only to the effect that "no decision could be taken for the present," on the ground that the matter had to be considered "in connection with other proposals that had been received."

Boelen therupon found a way of approach to Prince Henry of the Netherlands, who at once became keenly interested in the scheme and promised his active support—provided the undertaking were turned into a Dutch national enterprise having the support of leading business men in Holland. In August, 1869, there was consequently formed at Amsterdam a "Commission for the

promotion of Steam Navigation to our East Indian Possessions." Its members were Boelen himself, Julius Bunge, of the well-known firm of Bunge and Co., and Jan Boissevain, who, although the son of an Amsterdam sailing-ship owner, had long taken a keen interest in the possibilities of steam navigation.

The Commission immediately reported its formation to Prince Henry, pointing out that the two main problems to be solved were on the one hand to secure a definite agreement with the Government for the conveyance of a minimum quantity of cargo at a suitable rate of freight and for the carriage of Government passengers, and on the other to raise the requisite capital. Towards the achievement of these aims it begged the Prince's support and assistance. A favourable reply couched in most cordial terms was received which inspired the *Amsterdamsche Courant* of August 28, 1869, to remark that, "whereas there are frequent complaints about the sleepiness of the Dutch, great interest will be aroused by the information that the initiative has now been taken towards a new development, and that once again a Prince of the beloved House of Orange has placed himself at the head of an effort calculated to have important consequences for the trade with the East Indian Colonies."

Three days later the Commission had an interview with the Prince at his country seat at Soestdijk, which lasted from half-past ten until one o'clock, when the Commission took lunch with His Royal Highness. The Prince formally accepted to become the Patron to the Commission, the King's approval to this step having previously been obtained.

On the following day the Commission was received by King Willem III, who also showed a keen interest in the scheme, and expressed his gratification that a Prince of the House of Orange should be at the head of a movement which he considered as of great national importance. It is interesting in these days of national protection in economic matters to find a King of the Netherlands raising, more than sixty years ago, two questions which sound strangely up-to-date: could not the new steamships, enquired the King, be built in Holland, and—apparently bearing in mind that he was also the Grand Duke of Luxembourg—could not Luxembourg iron be used for their construction?

Unfortunately, as Prince Henry subsequently had to explain to some of his disappointed countrymen, "both as a Prince of Orange and as a practical seaman" he could only confirm that at that time Dutch shipbuilders did not yet possess the experience required to be entrusted with the execution of so important an order. Tenders for the first four ships were therefore invited from the principal shipbuilders on the Clyde, those of John Elder, having been found most suitable, being eventually accepted.

FOUNDING THE NEDERLAND LINE

Before matters had been advanced as far as that, a fair amount of opposition had to be overcome. Eventually, however, the new company was successfully formed, again with Prince Henry as its official patron. His Royal Highness at first favoured *Netherlands Lloyd* for the new company's name, but as there existed an insurance company with the same designation, the new concern eventually received the name of *Stoomvaart Maatschappij Nederland* (*Nederland Steam Navigation Company*), which has since, in its colloquial form of the *Nederland Line*, become known in all parts of the world.

The first capital issue was fixed at three and a half million guilders. The subscription lists were to be open on Saturday, April 2, and Monday, April 4, 1870. Up to the last moment there appears to have been some doubt about the success of the issue. Prince Henry, who had already applied for shares to the nominal value of 30,000 guilders, doubled his participation to show his confidence in the enterprise. The *Amsterdamsche Courant* published a last-minute appeal that has a curiously up-to-date ring about it. Although headlines were somewhat unusual at that time, it came out with the following ominous warning in large letters :

MONDAY IS THE DAY OF THE DECISION!

It will then be decided [it continued] whether there will be a national or a foreign steam navigation service to Java; . . . It will then be decided whether 150,000 guilders of annual wages shall be earned by Dutchmen or by foreigners; whether 170,000 guilders' worth of provisions shall be bought in this country or abroad; whether 50,000 guilders shall be paid in commissions to Dutch or to foreign firms; whether repairs to a value of 120,000 guilders per annum shall be executed in this country or abroad.

There was a good deal more in the same strain, all of it on lines with which post-war economics have made our generation familiar, but which seem to have been equally effective then.

For the issue was a complete success, the amount being fully taken up by the public. On May 13, 1870, the deed certifying the foundation of the *Nederland Steam Navigation Company* was executed. Full details and the names of the 981 shareholders were published in the Government Gazette of June 18, 1870.

Such was the origin of the *Nederland Line*, the premier Dutch

navigation company to establish a regular service between Holland and her Eastern Empire, and still the principal link in the chain that binds the two together. A few sidelights on some of the changes that have occurred during these sixty years in the service and the ships may not be without interest, seeing that British travellers form a substantial part of the passengers carried by the company, and that British shippers are prominent among the supporters of the company's cargo vessels.

MODERN DEVELOPMENTS

The size of vessels using the port of Amsterdam has, until comparatively recent times, been somewhat affected by the depth of water available, not so much within the harbour itself as in the fairways leading to it. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries access to the Y, which lies on the north side of the town of Amsterdam, was exclusively via the Zuyder Zee. Ships entered this inland sea through the Texel, and passed all the way down to the approaches to Amsterdam. Here they had to cross a bar which, when the size of vessels grew during the early part of the nineteenth century, was found rather too shallow to admit the bigger ships, until they had reduced their draft somewhat. For this latter purpose a contrivance was established consisting of a couple of barges which were placed on either side of the ships and used to raise her in a manner still practised in salvage operations. Colloquially the two "humps" on either side of the ship had come to be known as the "camels." My grandfather, who studied law at Amsterdam in 1834-35, told me that they were still in use at that time. I imagine that they must have gone out of use soon after, for about 1824 the North Holland Canal was constructed which linked Amsterdam with the open sea at Den Helder, the port at the entrance of the Texel.

It was by this route that the first ships of the *Nederland Line* arrived at Amsterdam, and the late Charles Boissevain, the well-known editor and proprietor of the *Algemeen Handelsblad*, tells in his Memoirs how, when he was a boy, his father, who was one of the founders and managing directors of the company, used to take him and his brothers "to the other side of the Y there to see, drawn by twenty horses, the tall ship slowly coming nearer, contrasting darkly with the green meadows. As soon as those on deck saw 'the boss,' the flag was hoisted and the crew shouted a loud hurrah from the rigging." About 1875 the new canal from Amsterdam to Ymuiden was constructed, and since then this has been the route by which ocean vessels have found their way into the port of Amsterdam. Since 1930 the lock that gives admittance to this canal exceeds in dimensions not only the locks of the

Panama Canal, but also those of the Kiel Canal, hitherto the largest in the world.

But at first both the limits of the Suez Canal locks and those of the lock at Ymuiden greatly restricted the size of the *Nederland's* steamers. Of the first four vessels, built by John Elder on the Clyde in 1871, the *Willem III* and *Prins van Oranje* measured only 2,600 tons gross register. The next two, the *Prins Hendrik* (1871) and *Conrad* (1872), were lengthened by some thirty feet to 352 feet, and registered 3,000 tons gross. In 1874 the *Prinses Amalia* was built to an overall length of 371 feet and 3,480 G.R.T., and for twenty-five years she remained the biggest ship of the company's fleet.

These early ships were constructed to maintain a speed of not less than ten knots in practice. In 1874, however, the *Prins Hendrik* beat the record "of all steamships known to us," as the Board expressed it, "for a voyage between Northern Europe and the Indies" by maintaining an average "speed of 11½ knots during 34 consecutive steaming days." It was in the *Conrad* that my father sailed to Java in 1873, and, although she had been equipped according to the best ideas of those days, he was unpleasantly impressed with her appointments. Many of the cabins were inside ones in which there was no ventilation of any kind. The dining saloon was long and narrow, and, running all the way between the cabins, had no portholes. Passengers sat on benches at long tables, and the plight of those unfortunate enough to be "bad sailors" and who suddenly found the mixture of engine-room and galley smells somewhat oppressive, was unenviable, for they had to make their way as best they could past the long row of diners that separated them from the stairs. Not until the three vessels of the *Koning Willem* class, that were built in 1898 and 1900, was an extra deck added to the ships' hull and with it the opportunity to raise the passengers' quarters higher above the waterline, thus enabling portholes to be kept open more frequently. By this time first-class passengers had also been placed amidships, instead of right aft, and the dining and smoking saloons had become far more comfortable. To me, at any rate, the *Koning Willem III*, then the latest liner of the *Nederland*, in which I travelled in 1901, seemed most luxurious, although she only measured about 4,500 tons. In addition, the vessels of this class were the first to give up auxiliary sails, which made them look very businesslike. Even the *Koningin Regentes*, completed in 1894, still had a square rigged foremast and a fore-and-aft rigged main and mizzen. Thereafter, however, sail was dispensed with altogether.

Just before the world war the race in size began in the eastern trade, partly as the result of the opening up of Sabang as a port of

call. For by having to touch here, the *Nederland Company's* ships were brought into the international shipping lanes that lead not only to Singapore, but also to China and Australia, and began to carry increasing numbers of British passengers. Both in size and speed the company's vessels increased out of all recognition. By 1900 all ships were still well below 5,000 tons, while the voyage from Genoa to Java took about 28 days. In 1905 three ships of 5,800 tons were put in hand. By 1910 one of 8,055 was commissioned, and the last two to be built before the war measured almost 10,000 tons. At present the *Marnix van St. Aldegonde* and the *Johan van Oldenbarnevelt* not only measure 19,000 tons, but their equipment and decoration is in accordance with the latest notions of today. An interesting feature in this respect is that the interior decoration is not a mere outburst of blatant luxury, such as one has seen on certain ships. Every vessel of the *Nederland* is entrusted to some eminent artist of Amsterdam, such as Monsieur Lion Cachet, for instance, and under his guidance the whole of the interior decoration is thoroughly adapted to the character of the ship and to the needs of the passengers for whom it is intended.

For power raising, coal has, since 1925, been superseded by crude oil, and steam-engines by Diesel motors of the Sulzer type. The speed has been increased so as to enable the passage from Genoa to Batavia to be completed in just under twenty days. One of the little fetishes of the company, which it amused me to find being strictly observed, is the prescription that on departure from Amsterdam and again upon the vessel's return there, the last hawser must be cast off and the first rope made fast ashore exactly between the first and the last stroke of the appointed hour.

It is little things like this, enforced throughout the extensive ramifications of a vast organization, which make for precision and perfection—and for that apparent absence of fuss and worry which the spoilt passenger of these days is so apt to take for granted—and which a wise shipping company provides by a skilful combination of past experience and imaginative foresight.

THE FUTURE OF SHANGHAI

By O. M. GREEN

(Late Editor *North China Daily News*)

AMONG many questions that must vitally affect China's future relationships with the West, none is more important than the destiny of Shanghai; nor is any Power so well fitted as ourselves to take the lead in its determining. The foreign settlement, when Shanghai was opened to trade in 1843, was at first an area set aside for British residence (though others were swift to push in and glean where we had opened the way); the immense development and good administration of Shanghai are admittedly due to British guidance in subsequent years; in spite of competition, our interests there are still much greater than those of anyone else; and, without conceit, it may be said that both China and certainly European nations still look to us to take the lead in great international matters of the Far East.

For those unfamiliar with local conditions, the question of Shanghai may perhaps best be understood by means of a simile. Suppose, let us say, Southampton were owned and entirely controlled by fifty or sixty thousand foreigners, further inhabited by about a million Englishmen, but the British Government had no authority within its circle and could not send a single policeman into its area to execute its orders even among the resident English. Suppose also that, while the rest of Great Britain had been a prey to civil war and anarchy, Southampton had grown to be the wealthiest city in the country, the centre and guardian of all its finance, commerce, and industry, until the strange paradox had arisen that the stability of Southampton, under its foreign control, was even more vital to the British as a whole than to its foreign owners; and lastly, suppose that an English nationalist party had arisen, which declared that they must be masters in their own house (Southampton included) and that others sympathized with them, yet felt that great caution must be used in meeting their aspirations, lest more harm might be done to England as a whole than good: there, *mutatis mutandis*, is the issue of Shanghai between Chinese and foreigners.

One further point must be stressed. Just two years ago, owing to the peculiar position and imperfect powers of its Administration, Shanghai was caught in a frightful conflict between China and a foreign Power, in which it might easily have been wiped out, as in fact large parts of it were. Nothing whatever has been done to remedy the imperfections which were the direct cause of

that catastrophe. "Feeling," as we say, is better. But all the old inflammable materials are lying about awaiting some possible new spark to start another holocaust. No attempt has been made to sweep them away and substitute more fire-proof foundations for the enormously important organism that Shanghai has become both to foreigners and Chinese.

To show how Shanghai has attained its unique position, and to make the problems of today intelligible, a brief retrospect is necessary. When Shanghai was opened to foreign trade, the Chinese officials allotted a stretch of land on the riverbank, northwards of the old native city, whereon the traders were to be free to acquire land, build their houses, and manage their own affairs by their extraterritorial rights and under their consuls. By 1854 the community had grown to such an extent that a Municipal Council was created, annually elected by the ratepayers, with the right to impose taxation and maintain a police force—the essential features of self-responsive government. Since then the consuls have never taken any share in the administration of Shanghai. Not the least extraordinary feature in the settlement's constitution is that, although it is under the protection of the Powers, it does not belong to them, nor can they jointly or individually give any orders to the Council (I am speaking of the International Settlement throughout; the French decided in 1863 to administer their section as a separate Concession, when the British and American Concessions were amalgamated into the International Settlement: of course, both sections work in close co-operation, though administratively they are distinct). The Council's charter to govern is the so-called Land Regulations, first drawn up in 1854 and revised in 1866, but never again since then. It is easily imagined that many of today's difficulties are due to the very natural inability of the draftsmen of 1866 to foresee what Shanghai has since become.

During the Taiping Rebellion, in the fifties and sixties, thousands of Chinese took refuge in the settlements and, under the benefits of foreign protection, the Chinese community inside the foreign settlements has continued to grow until today it numbers nearly 1,000,000. The foreign community amounts to about 50,000, made up of forty-six nationalities and others whom the census, unable to identify them, describes as "sundries." This Chinese population, never intended when the ground was first reserved for foreigners, is the cause both of the growth of the Council's powers in the past and of its perplexities today.

First, a court was needed in which to try Chinese cases, as the practice of sending them to the native city soon proved really unworkable; and thus the Mixed Court came into existence, with Chinese magistrates and foreign assessors sitting together.

Then it was obviously unfair that Chinese in the settlement should pay double taxes to the Council and their own officials. Moreover, it was found that the yamén runners (Chinese officials' emissaries) were mercilessly "squeezing" Chinese who lived in the settlements. The Council, therefore, claimed and eventually obtained the right to exclude the runners and preserve the Chinese under their control from the double impost.

For similar reasons, it was further agreed that no Chinese official proclamations could be posted in the settlement; also that no Chinese could be arrested and taken out of the settlement without a proper charge and a *prima facie* case made out against him in the Mixed Court, the warrant for his arrest being executed by the Council's police. It may be said that this safeguard against political terrorism or financial extortion by Chinese politicians and officials has been proved absolutely necessary again and again.

If the extension of the Council's powers seems excessive—and it has undoubtedly been great—two countervailing facts must be clearly remembered. First, the Council is the sole authority responsible for law and order in the settlement; they could not tolerate interference in their domain which might easily breed a riot. Sir Frederick Bruce, an early British Minister in Peking, with that sublime indifference for realities which the remoteness of Legation Quarter from Shanghai has so often produced, wrote on one occasion that it was no part of the foreigner's duty to protect Chinese from their own officials. Theoretically true, no doubt; yet in fact that is precisely what the Council had to do—in the general interest they could not do otherwise. And this obligation has grown ever more pressing, as all the centres of Chinese wealth have gradually been gathering in Shanghai, and, in the recent years of chaos and civil war, it has been the one place where Chinese business and finance could be pursued without let or hindrance.

In the second place, while the Council are an elective body, responsible at every step for all they do and all they spend to the ratepayers; moreover, able to be sued by any ratepayer in a court set up by the consuls, the surrounding Chinese Government is wholly arbitrary, responsible only to itself, beyond reach of any litigant. In such circumstances, as Mr. Justice Feetham has well pointed out, the elected Government must protect itself by all available means against the arbitrary, or it will be swallowed up by it, by a sort of constitutional Gresham's Law. Since 1916 the Chinese districts surrounding Shanghai have begun to develop a form of municipal government, and in 1927 they were amalgamated into one "Greater Shanghai" (containing well over 2,000,000 people, attracted by the growing wealth of the port) under a mayor. Now by common accord the present mayor,

General Wu Teh-chen, is a most high-minded, public-spirited official, between whom and the foreign authorities relationships are very cordial. Furthermore, the administration of Greater Shanghai has developed considerably in recent years. Yet the plain fact remains that both municipality and mayor do not, in any real degree, correspond with our sense of the word. Neither of them is amenable in any respect to the ratepayers from whom they collect taxes. They are responsible only to a distant Government and, from the ratepayers' point of view, are absolutely autocratic.

This point is to be emphasized very particularly, because the day is coming when the Chinese will argue that their municipality is as good as the foreigners', and therefore the latter must be merged in theirs. A new civic centre has lately been built in the country north of Shanghai, with elaborate offices, and a huge scheme of avenues and parks radiating from this centre. There is no practical doubt that the ultimate intention is to produce something in imitation of foreign municipalities so outwardly imposing that the Powers may be cajoled into agreeing to the merging of the foreign area into the Chinese. But the insuperable barrier (or so it ought to be) remains that the Chinese municipality is a purely arbitrary government, subject to no law but its own pleasure; and, until that system gives place to a genuinely representative government, no alteration of the present status of the foreign settlements could be allowed without grave danger to China's prosperity as well as the foreigner's. The fact that the present mayor and the people under him are good fellows counts for nothing. They might be superseded at any moment; and it is still, unfortunately, beyond power of prediction who might remove them or who might be put in their place.

One example may be given of the uncertainties against which the foreigner must guard himself. Several months ago the Chinese Government promulgated a law for the registration of all companies. Nothing, on the face of it, unreasonable in that. Most countries do the like. But the Chinese law conferred upon officials the powers of very inquisitors. The most searching revelations of their business, such as no firm could reasonably be asked for, were demanded; and Chinese officials were not only empowered to enter business premises whenever they pleased and demand any information, but even to remove the firm's books and keep them for investigation. The dispute that has naturally arisen over the proposed registration is still unsettled.

With the growth of Nationalist sentiment in China during the past ten years, it is not surprising that the mere existence of Shanghai under foreign control has become an increasing grievance to the "politically minded." Its enormous wealth (British

interests alone in Shanghai are very conservatively estimated at £100,000,000, probably they are much more) is a continual temptation to the large predatory class who have looted their own cities pretty thoroughly and hunger for the vastly richer spoils of Shanghai. To the better class, its admirable government and the rule of law it has maintained through all the years of surrounding lawlessness and slipshod inefficiency are a continual reproach. In 1926 Marshal Sun Chuan-fang, the last and ablest of the old Tuchuns of Nanking, said publicly that he was ashamed, every time he passed in his car from foreign into Chinese Shanghai, "to contrast their efficiency with our inefficiency." No other Chinese has had the frankness to speak out in this manner, but many must have had the same miserable feeling.

The result has been a series of petty obstructions and encroachments on the Council's authority, which do not materially advance the Nationalist cause and certainly damage the interests of the masses of the Chinese population. All sorts of petty political organizations have sprung up, nominally champions of "popular rights," actually for the most part in the hands of the least worthy of the citizens; and such is the power of the tail to wag the dog in China, that the Chinese officials are not infrequently stopped from coming to agreement with the foreign Council on some measure which they know to be for the general good, simply from fear of the clamour raised by irresponsible bodies. Three examples may be mentioned.

By agreements with the Powers in 1926 and 1930, the functions of the old assessors in the mixed court have been whittled away until now the Chinese judges sit alone, the only foreign check on the court's management being that the Council furnish its police, who execute its warrants. In the boycott of Japanese, in the autumn of 1931 (following the quarrel in Manchuria), many boycott agents and anti-Japanese rioters were brought before the court, but the Chinese judges either would not or dared not convict them. The Council were thus unable to keep order, and, as all the world knows, the Japanese eventually lost patience and invaded the Chinese district, in order to do what the judges would not do, with the result of six weeks' furious fighting and the destruction of vast quantities of valuable property. Calmer days have ensued. But it is the simple truth that nothing has been done to prevent a recurrence of the same trouble. Under similar conditions, exactly similar disasters might recur.

Next the question of factory inspection. Since 1925 the Council have been trying to impose regulations on child labour in the mills, but these broke down because, of the 118 big mills in the Shanghai area, considerably over a hundred are outside the settlement and the Chinese would not co-operate. In February last

year there was a shocking explosion, with over eighty deaths, in a Chinese rubber factory in the eastern district of Shanghai, and the Council decided to amend their licensing by-law so as to enable them to enforce safety and hygienic precautions. The measure was approved by the ratepayers and by the Consular Body (whose sanction to changes in the by-laws is necessary). But the Chinese officials refused to agree. They declared the Council's proposals to be *ultra vires*, and, having recently promulgated a Factory Law themselves (which, by the way, is so highly idealistic that it would not be workable in any country in the world), they demanded that their inspectors should be admitted to the settlement to supervise all factories and industries. The Council could not give this permission even if they would, because foreign-owned industries are protected by extraterritorial rights and would quite legally shut their doors against the Chinese inspectors. That, of course, they could not do against the Council's inspectors, if the by-law amendment had become operative. Thus, for want of a little reasonableness, much-needed reforms and precautions for general security remain wanting.

Lastly, the very complicated question of what are called the outside roads. To put this matter as briefly as possible, the Council have from time to time for many years bought land (as by the Land Regulations they are entitled to do) outside the settlement for the construction of roads. Since the beginning of this century—with the increase of population, the tendency of foreigners to seek homes in the country, and the multiplication of industries—more and more roads outside the settlement have thus been built to the total extent of a little over forty-nine miles. Necessities of hygiene, light, water, and policing extended the Council's activities along these roads. For many years the Chinese raised no objection, but latterly, under the impetus of Nationalist sentiment, they have begun to claim the right to police the outside roads themselves and to supply the public services along them. The result has been much clashing of authority and several "incidents," always unpleasant, sometimes much worse.

The question is undeniably difficult. The roads are admittedly Council property, and are much appreciated by ordinary Chinese living alongside them, particularly landowners whose property has increased in value. On the other hand, one cannot deny some justice in the Chinese contention that the Council's police have no more right outside settlement limits than Chinese police are permitted inside them.

Eventually, in 1932, representatives of the Chinese and foreign municipalities met in conference and were on the point of arriving at a very fair working arrangement, to share the control of the roads between them, when, at the last moment it is said, and

there is every reason to believe, that the Japanese claimed special rights in the projected arrangement, owing to the number of their people living outside the settlement. In the prevailing temper of the Chinese this was quite enough to hold up the proposed compromise indefinitely. It is reported that discussions have been resumed and one may well wish them success. But the incident is noteworthy in more than one way.

It cannot be concealed that there is now a Japanese as well as a Chinese "question" in Shanghai. The Japanese community numbers over 20,000 (the British, which is the next largest, is about 13,000) and their interests in industry, commerce, and shipping are very large. The upheaval of 1932 led them to look narrowly to their position, and, seeking backwards, they had no difficulty in attributing their misfortunes to the sentimental policy of England and America which, as it seemed to the Japanese, had merely aggravated the Chinese Nationalists' arrogance and high-handedness. They have built or are building barracks in Hongkew (the quarter chiefly occupied by Japanese) capable of housing 3,000 men; last New Year's day there was a review in Hongkew Park of 2,000 Japanese soldiers, sailors, and marines; they are building their own fire stations, the district is policed by Japanese, and all the Japanese cafés, cinemas, tea gardens, beer halls, etc., are licensed by their own national authorities. Hongkew really begins to constitute an *imperium in imperio*, with duplication of authority and inevitable dislocation of the Council's control. This is a much more serious matter than it is possible to explain in the space at command, its seriousness being accentuated by the teeming numbers of Chinese in Hongkew, who would quickly rebel against any substitution of Japanese for Council control, with reactions that would embroil the whole settlement.

Here, then, are great matters vitally affecting the welfare of what is perhaps the wealthiest, most active city of all Asia, not even excluding Bombay and Calcutta; nor, under present conditions, is there any visible limit to other equally irritating controversies that might be added to them. The futility of trying to grapple with each problem as it arises; the utter wastefulness and harm to the general good arising from the recent pull-devil pull-baker relations between foreign and Chinese authorities; the urgent need of fundamental reformation and of laying down such a constitution for Shanghai as would ensure its natural development on the lines it ought to follow: all these were frankly recognized by the Municipal Council when in 1930 they invited Mr. Justice Feesham from South Africa to draw up recommendations for Shanghai's future government, such as should meet the Chinese aspirations compatibly with due preservations of the vast interests centred in the city.

Mr. Justice Feetham's report, running in all to over 730 pages, is unquestionably a most broadminded and statesmanlike document. To deal with it in detail is obviously impossible here, but the following main points epitomize his conclusions.

(1) That the Chinese desire to be masters in their own country is perfectly natural, and that the foreign settlements of Shanghai are an anomaly which no sovereign State could be expected indefinitely to tolerate. (Few people would dissent from this view.)

(2) That nevertheless Shanghai has grown to be what it is purely through foreign control and the rule of law thereby assured.

(3) That it would be impossible to hand over the settlements to the arbitrary rule that prevails elsewhere in China without risk of the gravest injury to China's material interests as well as to foreign nations'. The Powers, says Mr. Justice Feetham, are trustees to China for the great heritage built up in Shanghai, and would be false to their trusteeship if they relinquished control of it without most careful consideration and assurance as to its future.

(4) That Shanghai should be used as a training ground to educate the Chinese in municipal and representative government, of which they have no experience, by increasingly admitting them to share in the administration of the settlement, down to the time and the point at which the transition desired by China could safely be effected.

The methods by which (4) is to be attained are carefully planned in detail, and it may be added that for some years past the Council have actually been working on the proposed lines.

Considering that Mr. Justice Feetham's mission to Shanghai was benevolently viewed by the Great Powers beforehand, that Shanghai is admittedly a "world problem," and that his scheme is the only attempt ever made to find a solution for it—an attempt doubtless open to criticism, but nevertheless affording an admirable basis for discussion—it is extraordinary that no attempt should have been made to give it effect, or at least to examine it officially. Our own Foreign Office quite deliberately cold-shouldered it. The question of Shanghai remains where it did, only with some fresh complications added thereto.

On February 29, 1932, the League of Nations adopted a resolution which alluded vaguely to a future "Round-Table Conference" on Shanghai. It is not absolutely clear whether the League was thinking of the Sino-Japanese conflict then raging, or of the whole future of Shanghai. But there can be no question that such a conference is urgently needed, and indeed there is no other means by which Shanghai's constitution can legally be

altered, except by joint unanimous agreement between China and the Treaty Powers.

But one proviso must be emphasized. Shanghai is a town in which a vast number of foreigners and Chinese have lived and worked and played together, in the main on very friendly terms, and, in recent years, with increasing appreciation of their common interests in the welfare of the great city. When the conference meets, it must not think particularly of a Chinese question, a foreign, or a Japanese, but of a question affecting all together, of a heritage in which all can share alike, with the resolve and certainty of making it ever greater and more splendid.

HISTORICAL SECTION

AN ELEGY ON THE DEATH OF THE OLD EAST INDIA COMPANY

BY HARIHAR DAS

ON September 5, 1698, a Royal Charter was sealed in favour of the "General Society," which was incorporated under the name of *The English Company Trading to the East Indies*. It contained important clauses. The subscribers to the New Company were empowered to possess lands and to trade to the extent of their capital on a joint-stock basis. They were the only body privileged to trade in the East Indies except the Old Company, whose term was to expire on September 29, 1701. The Company further received authority to control, govern, and defend their own forts and factories as well as to appoint Governors and other officers; but the sovereign rights over those places were reserved for the King. They were empowered to establish Courts of Judicature in order to determine all causes civil or criminal relating to trade and shipping, "according to the rules of equity and good conscience, and according to the Laws and Customs of Merchants," within the limits of the New English Company, as the Old Company had done. Within a few days of the granting of the Charter, the New Company proposed to send an ambassador to the Court of the Great Mughal, and subsequently nominated Sir William Norris, Bart., M.P.

The struggle between the two companies in England continued till their final amalgamation in 1708, and provoked violent recriminations both in England and in India. It is interesting to note that an anonymous writer composed a poem entitled *An Elegy on the Death of the Old East India Company*, which was published in London in 1699. It was evidently written out of propagandist zeal in order to advance the cause of the New Company, though the writer confessed that he had no personal interest in the New Company nor any animosity against the Old. He admitted that the great success attending the inauguration of the New Company, notwithstanding all opposition, was sufficient excuse to inspire the composition of the poem. He was even bold enough, now that the censorship had been abolished, to make a satirical attack on some members of Parliament connected with the Old Company with whose views and interests he was at

variance. Considering the complete victory of the New Company over the Old, the writer expressed the opinion that it would have been a better policy if the two companies had arrived at some agreement before bringing their differences to the attention of Parliament. In the present day such an anonymous production would have provoked controversy in the Press, but towards the end of the seventeenth century (probably from the lack of regular newspapers, as the first daily did not appear till 1702) it escaped criticism. There were, of course, few trained pens and few writers who could even compose a pamphlet "in a day or night" as did their Elizabethan predecessors. The poem is typical of the artificial taste of the time, which assumed acquaintance with the classics, and relied entirely on the rhyme and on studied antitheses for poetical merit. The writer of these verses pictures the arrival in India of the New Company's fleet, and describes this expedition as being led by the "patriot" who is to bring peace and to restore amicable relations. The Mughal Emperor grants the petition with such grace and readiness that it would seem as though grant preceded request:

"How the fam'd Prince whose pow'rfull scepter sways
Where e'er the Eastern sun extends its Rays,
Shall rise with joy and run to his Embrace,
Reading his Master's Honours in his Face,
As He with fresh endearments Treats his guest,
And makes the grant precede his just request,
Preventing what he'll ask, by what he'll give,
His task too great, if only to receive.
Indians and English both alike shall share
The Monarch's favour, and employ his care,
And Brittain's wise Embassador obtain
Not only leave to Trade but almost reign.
Commerce shall spread itself along the coast,
And Norris shall regain what Child had lost.
These are the Truths the Tunefull God reveals,
And this the Man for whom he raptures feels,
Whose single worth might challenge all our lays,
And ever give employment to our Praise,
Should numbers follow, or should verse pursue,
The deeds which he has done and yet shall do,
But if he claims our wonder and esteem,
What should they have who made his worth our Theme?"

WARREN HASTINGS AND THE GOVERNORS OF MADRAS

By A. BUTTERWORTH, C.S.I.

IN 1774 Warren Hastings became the first Governor-General with a Council of four members, and he remained in office until the beginning of 1785. At the time of his accession the post of Governor of Fort St. George was held by Alexander Wynch, a man gifted, according to Orme, with "as small a share of understanding as can well be imagined." This popular, if unintelligent, administrator, having been unjustly removed from office, was succeeded in December, 1775, by Lord Pigot, in whose time occurred the *coup d'état* which resulted in the seizure of power by a majority of the Council and his own commitment to nominal confinement. The new administration obtained recognition by the Supreme Government and held office until John Whitehill arrived with the Directors' orders summoning the majority members home, restoring Pigot and, because he too had not been free from blame, requiring him to make immediate surrender of the Governorship. But meantime Pigot had died and his son-in-law, scornfully refusing an offer of military honours, had laid him under a slab of stone, bare of words, as in silent reproach. So Whitehill held charge until Thomas Rumbold arrived in February, 1778.

The capture of Pondicherry secured to this gentleman a baronetcy, but otherwise his office brought him little comfort. His conduct as Governor was approved to the extent that the Directors proposed to confer the Governor-Generalship on him in succession to Hastings, and in 1779 Sir Eyre Coote wrote to the chairman of the Company that the peace prevailing on the coast was a consequence of the "wise and spirited exertions of the Governor and Council here in support of the Army," which he contrasted with "the state of things in Bombay and Bengal, which had left Madras to bear the burden of the war and gone off on distant expeditions." Then, in April, 1780, he resigned office on medical advice and sailed for England. Three months after receipt of his resignation the Directors issued an order censuring and removing from office him and his Councillors, Whitehill and Perring, on the ground of oppression and corruption, and among the Resolutions put forward by the Secret Committee of the House of Commons appointed to investigate the causes of the war in the Carnatic was a proposal to censure and remove Hastings and the Governor of Bombay and to deal with Rumbold, Whitehill, and Perring for breach of public trust and other

crimes by means of a Bill of Pains and Penalties. There are good grounds for holding that the charges against Rumbold were baseless, and, after he had been heard in his own defence, the Bill was silently dropped, nor, in spite of his importunities, was he able to secure a definite verdict. Thereafter there grew up a legend that Rumbold was responsible for the disasters of the war with Hyder Ali. This legend served very conveniently to distract attention from Hastings' neglect of warnings of impending disaster, but there is nothing to show that it originated with him. At the most we can cite this remark to show that he held Rumbold in no favour: "The evidence against Rumbold is strong enough to convict twelve felons, such as felons are of vulgar size, but he will surmount it all. There is not virtue in England for the punishment of wealthy villainy."

Rumbold having left in April, 1780, the reins fell again into the hands of Whitehill, who soon found himself embroiled with his superiors at Calcutta. By treaty made in 1768 with the Sûbahdâr, Nizâm Ali, the Guntûr Circar was to remain with his brother Basâlat Jang so long as he lived and behaved himself, and was then to pass to the English Company. In 1775 Basâlat's dealings with the French led the Supreme Government to authorize Madras to occupy the Circar, but the occupation was postponed. In 1778 Basâlat, moved by fear of Hyder Ali, himself offered to dismiss his French auxiliaries and to deliver the Circar into the Company's keeping subject to his continued enjoyment of the revenues. Madras, on the strength of the orders of 1775, accepted these proposals and obtained the assent thereto of the Supreme Government. Nizâm Ali and Hyder Ali were greatly annoyed, the former because he had not been consulted and had lost the chance of driving a bargain with the Company, and the latter because he was thus cut off from communication with the French through the port of Motupalli. They combined to frighten Basâlat into praying the Madras Council to reverse the arrangements made and into cancelling his application for an English force to take the place of his French guard. The Council, already in occupation of the Circar, refused to budge, but it happened at this juncture that the conciliation of Nizâm Ali was of consequence to the policy of Hastings, and he directed Madras to make over possession to Basâlat without delay. This order was issued in June, 1780, and it was repeated two months later. Madras took no notice until September 3, when objection was raised that the Circar had already been leased to the Nawâb by the Council; a further report was promised, but was not at once sent. In fact, there was a sharp contest going on in the Council whether to obey the Supreme Government or not. It was questionable whether the Regulating Act empowered the Supreme Govern-

ment to order the surrender of territory already occupied by the Government of a Presidency; Nizâm Ali had no reversionary interest in Guntûr nor claim (save as a mere matter of politeness) to be consulted as to its disposal; Hyder Ali had no shred of title to make his voice heard, and it was of the utmost consequence to the Company and the Nawâb that the Circar should not be left open to the risk of occupation by Hyder Ali or the French. It was Whitehill who, by his casting vote, decided for obedience, and it was Whitehill who suffered for disobedience. The decision to obey came too late. On October 10, 1780, the Supreme Government issued its final orders. That authority argued, plausibly enough, that its assent to the occupation of the Circar had been given on the assumption that Nizâm Ali would be consulted, and that there was no justification for retaining a hold on the country after Basâlat had withdrawn his application for an English guard. But the real case against the Council was that it had put forward misleading reasons for its delay in carrying out orders, and by that delay had publicly flouted the authority of the Supreme Government.

The hesitation over the surrender of Guntûr was particularly galling to Hastings, because he had already committed himself to a promise to Nizâm Ali that the Circar should be restored. Consequently he moved, and his Council agreed, that Whitehill should be suspended from office. On November 5 Coote arrived at Madras bearing an order to this effect and charged with the duty of carrying it out. Whitehill challenged the authority of the Supreme Government to suspend him, and Coote was, as he wrote, "not a little difficulted how to proceed." In the end he got the Council to pass a motion that Charles Smith should take the chair, and Whitehill then withdrew, saying something about a suit. Hastings' account of the matter was that the order had been carried out "without trouble, though the creature made some show of resistance, and with the universal satisfaction and general joy of the settlement." Quite independently of this affair, and without knowledge of it, the Directors in May, 1781, dismissed Whitehill on the ground that he and Perring, as Councillors, must have been parties to Rumbold's alleged misconduct, and for no better reason.

Between November, 1780, and June, 1781, the post of Governor was held by the senior member of Council, Charles Smith, whom Hastings could not forgive for the "derision and resentment" with which Madras greeted the plan propounded, or supported, by the Governor-General to meet the Council's demand for European soldiers. The plan was that the Dutch in Ceylon should lend to the Company 1,200 Dutch soldiers in return for the cession to Holland (subject to the Nawâb's suzerainty) of the province

of Tinnevelly and for recognition of the right of the Dutch to enlarge by force of arms their possessions on the Malabar coast and to exclude others from the pearl fishery to the southward of Râmêsvaram. The outbreak of war with Holland put an end to this remarkable project, which Hastings tried to justify later by describing it as "a measure extorted by the cries of despair and judged in the elation of a sudden return of success." His annoyance with, or disapproval of, Smith was manifested when, without consulting Madras, he came to terms with the Nawâb as to the payment of war-charges, and again when he appointed the Nawâb's agent, Richard Sulivan, to be "Minister" on behalf of the Supreme Government at the Nawâb's court. In both cases the intention was to belittle the Madras Council, and more particularly its president. So directly was Smith aimed at that, when he was about to be relieved by Macartney, Sulivan was told that if Macartney objected, as in fact he did, to the novel assumption by the Supreme Government of direct relations with the Nawâb, he should immediately resign his office of Minister.

Lord Macartney landed in Junc, 1781. In the Governor-General's opinion he was "a paltry fellow," but he was more than that: a personable man, urbane, diligent, intelligent, and even-tempered. The discriminating author of *The War in Asia* (probably the admirable Alexander Read) tells us that he was not free from a "spirit of domination and of hostile vengeance against all who in any respect opposed or interfered with the measures of his domination." A talent for making enemies suggests that he was wanting in tact. His verbosity on paper was dreadful. But perhaps his most annoying quality was his unctuous rectitude. He wearics us with insistence on his incorruptibility. He compares himself with his predecessors and avows his superior disinterestedness, but fails to mention that he was the first Governor to receive a fixed and adequate salary. He writes of himself: "I am of all men perhaps the most cautious, but at the same time the most decisive. I have no malignity in my nature. I have only that steadiness," etc.

The inevitable feud with Hastings developed in four principal directions, as set out below.

(1) *The Surrender of the Circars.*

The first altercation arose over a proposal that the whole of the immense area known as the Northern Circars should be returned to the Sûbahdâr, Nizâm Ali, in return for 150 lakhs of rupees, the remission of arrears due by the Company in respect of the Circars, the loan, if required, of 5,000 cavalry, a promise not to allow Continental Europeans into the Circars, and acceptance of the Company's guidance in matters of military policy.

This plan had the full approval of Hastings, who was "most eager" to carry it out, declaring that the territory had practically no money value to the Company, and referring to an opinion expressed by the Directors in 1769 that the Circars were of no use except as a barrier against the invasion of Bengal. The Madras Council challenged Hastings' figures and, on this and other grounds, fought so strongly against the proposal that the Directors were convinced, and even thanked the Council for preventing the accomplishment of a project which later events proved to be exceedingly ill-advised.

(2) *The Deputation of Eyre Coote.*

After the defeat at Perumbâkkam Munro's supersession by Coote was a matter of clear expediency. It was unfortunate that the substitute should perforce have been one about whom Hastings had just written: "This man of caprice cannot long remain with us. His ill-temper or infirmities, or both in conjunction, will soon compel him to return home"; but he was unquestionably the best soldier in India. It was further unfortunate that Macartney should have come out with a plan of campaign in his mind and a conviction of his own skill as a strategist, because a Governor so equipped was not likely to rub along comfortably with a Commander of whom Hastings had recently said: "It is impossible for him to be on terms of peace with any man living who possesses a power either superior or equal to his own unless the former is for ever at his elbow and coaxing him into good humour." Macartney declared that he "courted him like a mistress and humoured him like a child," but, for all that, did not win his heart, although he managed to defer a rupture until 1782, when Coote complained to the Supreme Government that the Council was interfering with his plans.

The upshot was a letter in which the Supreme Government suggested, with "all the tenderness and delicacy" becoming such a subject, that Coote should have "entire and unparticipated" command of the forces and complete control and direction of all matters, even if not directly military, affecting the conduct of the war. This course was justified by Coote's "unexampled zeal and exertions" and by the confidence he inspired. The Supreme Government might direct this suspension of civil control, but preferred merely to recommend, and recognized that there must be reserved to the Council a certain final authority to be exercised in the gravest emergency. The latter reads very well, but Hastings was not behaving straightforwardly. Privately he wrote to Macartney of his anxiety to support the authority and honour of his administration, and to Coote that he had announced his views to the Council, and "it is at their peril if they refuse to

conform to them," thus assuring Coote of his support in all circumstances.

The Council agreed to resign all authority over the army, but the position soon proved to be intolerable. Complaints and recriminations (set out on Macartney's side at great length) ensued, and continued until Coote, in September, 1782, amid mutual compliments, resigned the command owing to ill-health. The quarrel which developed between the Council and Coote's successor, General Stuart, filled the Supreme Government with such "dreadful apprehensions" for the fate of the Carnatic that it prayed Coote, ill as he was, to take on the command again. He made a gallant effort to respond, and this time the Governor-General and Council, discarding the pretence of advice, declared by a positive order that he should have "the absolute command of the forces." Madras, with previous experience in mind, was equally decided that Coote should accept a constitutional position of subordination. Hastings' reply of March 24, 1783, when cleared of mockery and vituperation, came to this: that the Directors had made the Supreme Government responsible for the conduct of the war throughout India, and that the constitutional powers of Madras must be exercised in subordination to the central authority.

The position taken up by Hastings, even if not legally impregnable, was a strong one, but the Madras Council had been so sharply stung by the flouts, sneers, and denunciations levelled at it that it persisted in a course which had become futile, and when Coote reached Madras in April he was met by an order warning him that his powers would be exercised under the control of the Governor and Council. Coote's death at this juncture pushed the question of authority on one side, but some notice had to be taken of this open defiance. The consequent reprimand produced fifty-four sheets of arguments from the Council, which had then the mortification of hearing that the Supreme Government would not waste time in arguing about "frivolous disputations."

(3) *The Negotiations with Tippu.*

Macartney seems to have come out with a fixed determination to make terms with Hyder as soon as possible, and at once wrote direct to him to propose a settlement, but the Mysore leader was not responsive. The Governor accordingly took a step in another direction. There was a feeling in Madras that the interests of the South were being sacrificed to the prosecution of the Mahratta war, and when John Macpherson was passing through Madras on his way to take his seat on the Calcutta Council, Macartney, Coote, and Admiral Hughes won him over to the view that

Hyder would not be put down until peace had been made with the Mahrattas. The four then took the extraordinary course of writing to the Mahratta Government at Poona that the King and the Company had ordered the suspension of hostilities and that a similar desire for peace prevailed at Calcutta and Madras. This singular encroachment upon Hastings' diplomatic domain provoked his natural indignation. In June, 1782, Hastings wrote to Macartney warning him not to imperil the Treaty of Salbai, just accepted by Scindiah, by making any overtures for peace to Hyder. Nevertheless, Macartney opened negotiations with Hyder's successor, Tippu Sâhib, and in February, 1783, asked permission to enter into a treaty with him. The reply, which was in the usual offensive style, was somewhat evasive, but left it to be inferred that Hastings disapproved of the terms of the proposed treaty and of the establishment of direct negotiations between Madras and Tippu. This notwithstanding, an agreement of a sort was come to at this point between the Council and Mysore. Hastings was furious. He charged the Council with deliberately exceeding its powers and infringing the Treaty of Salbai, and put forward the amazing proposal that Coote should be entrusted with discretionary authority to place Macartney and his Council under suspension. He failed, however, to carry his colleagues with him. Macpherson remarked, "We must consider the many difficulties under which the Madras Government are struggling and the sharp and immediate pressure of those difficulties," and most of the Councillors refused to find any deliberate infringement of the treaty, some even doubting whether there was any infringement at all or improper assumption of authority. So, although the proceedings of March 24, 1783, were richly spiced with gibes and upbraiding, it fell far short of Hastings' wishes, and in substance amounted only to a reminder that peace should not be separately pursued by Madras and a protest against any display of weakness towards Tippu.

But Macartney's appetite for diplomacy could not be stayed. No sooner had a truce between English and French been agreed in June than he sent to Tippu a proposal for an armistice and a promise to make no hostile move for a month. The Supreme Government, in language more bitter even than usual, denounced the "unwarrantable and disgraceful management" of the negotiations, the weakness which had prompted Tippu to insolence, and the folly which allowed one side to carry on hostilities while binding the other to abstain from them, and forbade the Council to make definite arrangements of any kind with the enemy.

The war with Tippu came to a close on March 11, 1784, when Macartney's "deputies" ended their ignominious mission by settling the terms of the Treaty of Mangalore. The document

was sent to Calcutta for confirmation, and during the absence of Hastings on tour was accepted by his colleagues. Afterwards Hastings, with good reason, criticized the form of the engagement. He did not propose to decline to accept it in view of the sore need for peace, but so strong were his feelings as to the shape it had taken that he put forward the extraordinary proposal that Macartney and his Select Committee should be dismissed on the ground that they had studiously excluded from the treaty all reference to the Nawâb and the Mahrattas. The Councillors again saved Hastings from headstrong action, but they allowed the issue in August of an order requiring Madras to open up further traffic with Tippu in order to secure an admission that the Nawâb was a party to the treaty, and warning the Council that it would disobey this behest at its peril. By Macartney's casting vote it was decided not to comply with this order, and no ill-consequences followed. Hastings in January, 1785, announced his intention to retire, and as soon as the order of August came to the notice of the Directors, who had already nominated Macartney to succeed Hastings, they directed that if Macartney had in fact been suspended for disobedience to it he was to be restored to office.

(4) *The Nawâb's Debts.*

The financial position at Madras was so bad in Smith's time that even the civil salaries could not be paid. Sharp lectures were addressed to the Nawâb, who was told that if he could not or would not pay his debts it would be necessary to buy peace by the cession of part of the Carnatic. The ill-feeling arising out of this discussion gave Hastings the occasion to show his contempt for the Council in the manner already described. The "treaty" of April, 1781, regarding the debts due to the Company, which treaty Hastings had made with the Nawâb over the heads of the local authorities, broke down in the working, and fresh discussions were opened with the Nawâb. These resulted in the Agreement of December, 1781, the main features of which were that for a period the Carnatic revenues were to be paid by the renters and collectors direct to the Governor, by whom they were to be appointed (subject to confirmation by the Nawâb); that a fixed proportion of the collection was to be allotted for the support of the Nawâb; and that the remainder was to go in reduction of the debt due to the Company. For a time all went well, and then trouble arose between the Governor and the Nawâb. Macartney characteristically ascribed the Nawâb's animosity towards himself to a natural distaste for men of pre-eminent virtue, but there were other reasons, and the immediate ground of complaint was that Macartney had been appointing renters and

collectors without the consent and approval of the Nawâb. This complaint was carried to Calcutta by two agents of the Nawâb, and it was dealt with in an unusual way. Hastings and his Councillors examined the envoys, and on the same day, January 8, 1783, without any reference to Macartney, they issued an order condemning him for a breach of the Agreement of December, 1781, and substituting for that measure a plan whereby the Nawâb again became responsible for making the collections and undertook to make certain payments therefrom to the Company. At the same time Richard Sulivan was reappointed to be "our Minister and Representative at the Darbar of the Nabob," and invested with authority to insist on the due observance of the engagements concluded between His Highness and the Supreme Government. Three weeks later Hastings wrote to Major Scott that if Macartney refused to obey these orders he intended to move for his suspension.

Before this order reached Madras the Council had received from England a despatch in which the Directors took strong exception to Hastings' "treaty" of April, 1781, censured the Governor-General and Council for appointing Sulivan as their representative with the Nawâb, cancelled that appointment, and declared their entire approval of the Agreement of December, 1781. Long experience had proved the futility of any arrangement which left it to the Nawâb to discharge his debts out of collections made by his own servants, and this despatch greatly strengthened the Madras Council in its resistance to the introduction of the new plan. After some intermediate correspondence, conducted from above with acrimony, or, as Barrow puts it, "with furious menaces," the Presidency, in June, 1783, definitely refused to comply with the orders from Calcutta unless and until they were confirmed by the Court of Directors; "we shall," the Council wrote, "be better pleased to see a dissolution of our Government effected by a vote of your Board than by the consequences which might result from a surrender of the Assignment." Necessity dictated this answer; with an empty treasury and an army unpaid for seven months, compliance with the orders from Calcutta would have meant the collapse of the Presidency.

The victory lay for the moment with the local Council. Hastings worked hard to induce his colleagues to take decided action against Macartney, but they refused to go beyond empty threats, and Madras retained control of the Carnatic revenues with the full approval of the Directors. At the end of the war the Board of Control ordered the restoration to the Nawâb of the right of collection, but the order to this effect reached Madras after Hastings had left India.

INDO-CHINA UNDER GOVERNOR-GENERAL PIERRE PASQUIER

By CAMILLE FIDEL,
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(*Translated by C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.*)

THE TRAGIC DEATH AND THE CAREER OF PIERRE PASQUIER

JANUARY 15, 1934, a memorable date in the colonial history of France, was in turn a day of glory and a day of mourning. While Paris, after Algiers, Marseilles, and Lyons, was honouring the squadron of twenty-eight aeroplanes which, under the command of General Vuillemin, had just accomplished in perfect manner, in the course of six weeks, a flight of 25,000 kilometres across French Africa, preparing the way for regular aerial routes of communication, dreadful news—also, by a tragic coincidence, connected with aviation—was to plunge Paris and the whole of France into consternation and grief: the splendid aeroplane *Émeraude*, when but an hour's flight from the capital, caught fire and crashed to earth, hurling to a horrible death the passengers it was carrying from Indo-China, and among them the Governor-General, Pierre Pasquier, who was coming to discuss with the French Government some important decisions that had to be taken in connection with the great colony in the Far East.

Pierre Pasquier, who for more than five years controlled the destinies of Indo-China, where all his previous service had been passed, was a worthy successor of the great Governors-General—Paul Bert, de Lanessan, Paul Doumer, Albert Sarraut, to name only the most illustrious—who wrought a transformation in the status of the colony, and whose enlightened administration rendered possible the results observable today. But the merit due to Pierre Pasquier is all the greater in that his task was a specially difficult one: he triumphed over political disturbances, and he coped with the economic crisis.

Born at Marseilles on February 6, 1877, Pierre Pasquier studied at the École Coloniale, which he left in 1898 with the title of *chancelier stagiaire* in the Residencies of Annam-Tonkin. From this time onwards his career was regular and brilliant, the principal posts held by him being: Provincial Resident, President of the Municipal Committee of Hanoi, Director of the Governor-General's Cabinet, Resident-in-Chief in Annam, and Director of

the Economic Agency of Indo-China in Paris. On August 28, 1928, he was appointed to be Governor-General, the functions of which office he was admirably fitted to perform by thirty years' experience of Asiatic administration. It would take too long to enumerate the measures carried out during his Governor-Generalship in the political, administrative, social, economic, and financial departments of government. It will be better to recall the chief features of this period of five years in the history of Indo-China, fertile in events of importance, which bear the deep impress of Pierre Pasquier.

POLITICAL DISTURBANCES IN INDO-CHINA IN 1930-1931

Indo-China is subdivided into several countries, the bond between which is formed by the Indo-Chinese Union, with the Governor-General at its head. Among these countries Cochin China, which was the earliest to come under French domination, is a colony with a Governor in charge. The population, more advanced than in other parts of the Union, includes educated classes who more nearly resemble Europeans in their ways of living and thinking, and who enjoy greater political liberty. The colony sends a deputy to the French Parliament, and more recently a native delegate to the *Conseil Supérieur des Colonies*.

The other countries in the Union are the protectorates of Cambodia, Annam, Tonkin, and Laos, at the head of which are Residents-in-Chief. To these must be added the territory of Kwang-Tcheou-Wan, on the coast of the Chinese province of Kwang-Tsiung. There are three protected sovereigns—namely, the King of Cambodia, the King of Luang-Prabang (Laos), and the Emperor of Annam. In Cambodia and Laos the situation has all along remained quiet, and in them there are, properly speaking, no political problems: these concern only the Annam and Tonkin protectorates. The events of 1930-1931, which have been termed "the disturbances in Indo-China," were, moreover, confined to certain elements of Annamite society, and, dangerous as they might have been, they have not been slow in bringing about a salutary reaction.

Although the Annamites are as far removed as possible from communistic doctrines, subversive of the idea of the family, of the traditions of the past and of the principle of monarchy, the Viet Nam Quoc Dan Dong, the Annamite national party, joined up in 1925 with the Than Nien, the Annamite revolutionary party. The Than Nien and the Cong San, the Indo-Chinese communist party, of which the object was "to destroy French imperialism," and to set up by violent means a proletarian dictatorship, committed many excesses in 1929, and the drama of Yen Bay was the pre-

mature outbreak, that ended in failure, of a wide-planned scheme. On February 10, 1930, at the Yen Bay (Tonkin) post, some French officers and non-commissioned officers were killed or wounded by civilians of the Annamite nationalist party and some native sharp-shooters who had been drawn into the conspiracy. The position was re-established by a counter-attack by some French troops and some Annamite sharp-shooters. At the same time some sudden attacks launched by rebels on other points, and marked by cases of assassination, were energetically repressed. Other grave incidents were brought about by leaders in the Vinh (North Annam) area, where, in consequence of the murder of some native residents, the militia had to use their arms. Similarly in some rural districts of Cochin China, a series of incidents occurred which formed part of a movement of protest, outwardly of a social character, but of communist inspiration. Bodies of thousands of demonstrators, mostly peasants, proclaimed their demands, which were principally for the abolition of taxes and the distribution of land, and became involved in acts of rebellion.

The authorities had to protect the people, who were driven wild by the methods of terrorism employed to make them join the revolutionary movement. The tribunals had to try some hundreds of persons who had taken part in the disturbances, and besides numerous sentences of penal servitude and deportation, a fairly large number of death sentences were passed, some of which were afterwards commuted and others carried out. It should be noted that these death sentences were imposed, not for rebellion, but because the culprits had committed murder or other offences against the common law.

The judicial measures taken were effective, and the disorderly elements were suppressed. Annamite society reacted of its own accord against the propaganda of the leaders, condemning not only the nationalist revolution, but also the destructive communistic tendencies that were subversive of its own traditions; the call of the revolutionaries no longer finds an echo from the working classes of the people, and for more than two years now nothing has happened to disturb the public peace.

THE POLITICAL REFORMS OF H.M. BAO DAI, EMPEROR OF ANNAM

The Government of Indo-China no longer meets with any political opposition on the part of the natives, who take more and more part in the affairs of their country. Towards this goal are directed the important reforms introduced by H.M. Bao Dai, who was brought up and educated in France. Alive to the need for responding to the wishes of the younger generation and of satis-

fying the aspirations of the people, this sovereign, after touring through the provinces and noticing the decline in the national institutions, has deemed it necessary to change the personnel and the methods of his Government. He has abolished the post of the President of the Council, and has taken over the direction of affairs himself. He has done away with the Ministry of War, and created that of National Education. Young men, selected solely for their competence, have been called to form a new Government. The activity of this Government, which assumed office on May 2, 1933, has been very great: it has revised the judicial system, the mandarin statute, the department of popular instruction, the department of public accounts, and has reorganized the functions of the several ministries. This policy has tended to strengthen the authority of the Emperor and his Government over his subjects, and to place the initiative with the agents of the Protectorate, while preserving for the representatives of France the responsibilities and rights inseparable from the obligations accruing from the treaty establishing the protectorate.

Under this system the protecting Government entrusts more and more the administration of new departments to competent ministries of the protected Government: and so the department of native primary and elementary construction has been placed under the control of the new ministry of national education. Since it was decided to preserve intact the moral authority of the sovereign over his own people, it was proper to allow this authority to be directly exercised in the matter of the education of the young, with a view to creating an Annamite public spirit. We should also mention the promulgation of a new penal code and the changes which have been introduced in what was an archaic judicial system. Ere long the modernized institutions of the empire of Annam will have no cause to envy those of Cochin China and Cambodia, which have long since made great advances.

As regards Tonkin, the system of wide decentralization introduced under the treaty of 1884 will not undergo any change by reason of the return of H.M. Bao Dai, but will be maintained in its integrity. The protectorate of Annam-Tonkin is divided into two distinct parts, united nationally, since the native laws can emanate only from the sovereign of the empire of Annam, but falling under two distinct administrative systems: the Resident-in-Chief at Hué (Annam) is bound to support the policy of the imperial government in his views and in the exercise of his supervision, and only controls the functions of the Protectorate; at Hanoi (Tonkin), on the other hand, the Resident-in-Chief exercises a direct delegated supervision over the functions of the native administration, which are practically combined with the Protectorate's own functions.

THE NATIVES IN THE REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLIES

Natives have been taking an ever-increasing share in the general and judicial administration. In this sphere the central government and local administrations have followed a programme that has been extended as a result of the progress made in the education of the people. The substitution of native for European personnel is being effected gradually. Another question, connected with this, but of far wider import, is that of the participation of the native element in the representative assemblies in Indo-China. Considerable development has occurred in this direction.

The constitution of the representative system in Indo-China, in pursuance of the decrees of November 4, 1928, prepared by Governor-General Pierre Pasquier, is as follows: At the base are councils of notables in the communes, and provincial councils composed exclusively of elected representatives of the native population. In the municipal councils of the large towns place has always been reserved for elected natives. Native chambers formed of representatives of the people, for the most part elected, having a consultative character, function side by side with the councils dealing with French economic and financial interests in each of the Protectorates—Tonkin, Annam, Cambodia, and Laos. The colony of Cochin China is provided with a complete assembly, the Colonial Council, deliberative in character, consisting of fourteen French and ten elected native members. Crowning the edifice, and by the side of the Executive Council of the Governor-General, is the Grand Council of Economic and Financial Interests of Indo-China, at the service of the Governor-General, composed of twenty-eight French and twenty-three native members, the majority of whom are elected, with consultative and deliberative powers: and in this council we have a body of qualified representatives of both French and native opinion.

EXPORTS

If, from the political point of view, Pierre Pasquier played the leading rôle in the re-establishment of security, and perfected the organization of affairs in Indo-China, the part he played in the economic and financial spheres was not less important, since he weathered the crisis which, owing to the collapse in the prices obtainable for the chief products of the colony, threatened to nullify the great effort made, with the aid of large capital, to promote French colonial prosperity, and reduced to a disquieting extent the means of existence of the native population.

It is known that Indo-China is, along with Burma and Siam, one of the chief rice-producing and rice-exporting countries. The prosperity of the whole colony is founded upon the capacity

of Cochinchina for exporting rice; its economic activity depends upon the disposable surplus, the value of which, greater or less according to the market price, controls the buying power of the people and their ability to pay taxes, and consequently the balancing of the budgets. The quantities exported, though sensibly lower than in the record year 1928, have shown signs of keeping fairly steady in recent years: 1,121,593 tons in 1930, 959,504 tons in 1931, and 1,213,906 tons in 1932; and we find an absence of disposable stocks in the exporting countries and a persistent demand at a period when most of the raw materials quoted in the world markets are suffering to a crushing extent from overproduction. But rice is selling at less than half the price it fetched in 1930, so that the value of the exports has fallen from 1,200 millions of francs in 1930 to 623 millions in 1931 and 603 millions in 1932. The cost price comes near to that at which paddy is sold; hence the difficulties besetting the cultivators of rice, aggravated by the indebtedness of the landowners, who had been induced to spend in extension of cultivation the unexpected profits of six consecutive years of exceptional prosperity, and who had incurred obligations at usurious rates of interest.

It was in rubber plantations for preference that French capital was employed during the period of prosperity. The quantity exported increased from 10,381 tons in 1930 to 11,901 tons in 1931 and 14,600 tons in 1932. This increase, which has taken place in spite of the heavy fall in the price of the commodity, testifies to the efficacy of the help rendered to the planters by the Government. The cultivation of tea, still in its inception, gives very encouraging results. Maize, the export of which steadily increases, is beginning to play an important part in the economy of the colony.

The value of mineral production has sensibly decreased. Coal mining, however, continues to show activity, the quantity extracted having only decreased from 1,972,000 tons in 1929 to 1,726,000 tons in 1931. The local consumption tends to increase, and the closing of markets in the Far East has been compensated to some extent by the increased sales of coal from Tonkin in France.

THE MAINTENANCE OF PRODUCTION AND OF CREDIT

While in the surrounding countries the planters were left to themselves, in Indo-China since 1930 advances have been allowed to owners of young plantations of hevea to enable them to hold on till the time of production. By 1935 the total value of this assistance will have reached 100 million francs. As far as the plantations already operating are concerned, the French law of March 31, 1931, created a compensation fund allowing for the

payment of a premium to exporters of rubber, maintained from the proceeds of a special tax on importation into France and by advances from the treasury in Indo-China. An office has been established for the support of agricultural production, which will replace the administration of Indo-China in the matter of all further loans to rubber and coffee planters.

To remedy the precarious condition of rice cultivation, the Colonial Office has had a law passed by Parliament which will enable help to be given to the cultivators who have imprudently incurred debt. The Government in Indo-China has been authorized to guarantee up to a limit of 100 million francs the loans contracted by private agencies with the object of granting long-term loans secured on landed property to the owners of rice lands. As a result of arrangements with the *Crédit Foncier de France*, a sum of 50 million francs has been placed at the service of rice cultivation. A system of long-term loans on the security of landed property has been established, which constitutes a link between the cultivators and the private lending agencies. The object is to enable the debtors to meet the payments falling due according to their capacity to pay, by substituting a long-term debt at a moderate rate of interest for a short-term debt at an usurious rate of interest. A department of rural colonization has been created to contend against excessive deterioration of the rice lands, and to foster the growth of small proprietorship by subdivision of large estates and the establishment of colonizing villages.

As the indebtedness of property, however, calls for a permanent solution, steps have been taken, by the fusion of the European credit-on-mortgage societies in Indo-China, for the establishment of a *Crédit Foncier Indochinois*, which will grant loans on urban and rural immovable property upon advantageous terms of interest. Nevertheless, the indigenous institutions of agricultural credit have, concurrently, a part to play so far as small rural estates and unimportant or seasonal loans are concerned, and a department will be set up in Indo-China to deal with such agricultural credit and to control the administration of provincial banks and funds, both French and native.

THE MONETARY QUESTION

Along with the problems of production and credit there is still the monetary question, which plays a leading part in the economy of Indo-China. By the decree of May 31, 1930, the piastre, the value of which formerly varied with the price of silver metal, was stabilized at ten francs. The introduction of a fixed currency on a gold standard ensured stability and security of exchange,

kept up the purchasing power of the country, and facilitated relations with the metropolis.

On the other hand, in Asia and the Far East, where most countries have a depreciated silver currency, a rise in coinage values can prove disadvantageous to the export trade. This is the reason why delegates from select bodies and economic groups in Indo-China and representatives of the rice cultivators of Cochin China—these latter attributing their growing troubles to the stabilization of the piastre—appeared before the monetary commission established at the Colonial Office and asked that the system of a silver metal basis be restored.

PUBLIC WORKS

In spite of the economic crisis, the programme of public works has been carried on with the greatest activity, chiefly with borrowed funds. In Cambodia the railway from Pnom Penh to Battambang and Mongkolborey has been constructed and opened for traffic: its completion will enable the Indo-Chinese and Siamese networks of railways to be linked up. In Annam the construction of the line from Tourane to Nhatrang, the last section of the Trans-Indo-Chinese Railway, has been taken in hand, and should be completed at the end of 1936. Still more important than the ways of communication are the irrigation works of Cochin China, Cambodia, Tonkin, and Annam, which complete the extensive works of like nature already carried out in the course of many years past, the chief object of which is to enable a larger area to be cultivated with rice, whether for purposes of export or for improving the food ration of the people.

The employment of credit reserves from loan funds for expenditure on measures of sanitation and for demographic purposes has enabled an extensive programme of sanitary measures to be given effect to, and the struggle against disease to be developed. Social questions also receive solicitous attention from the authorities—the protection of workers, regulation of free labour, and the development by suitable measures of small proprietorship.

BUDGETS AND RETRENCHMENT

It has been all the more difficult for the authorities in Indo-China to carry on their agricultural, economic, and social measures in that these require permanence of financial resources. Now, the economic crisis, which so deeply disturbed the equilibrium of private concerns, reacted directly upon the colonial budgets. It was for this reason that one of the principal tasks imposed upon Governor-General Pierre Pasquier was the restoration of the finances.

The fall in receipts was all the more violent because the last years of the preceding period had benefited by the activity—partially at least fictitious—in the exchanges; on the other hand, expenditure rose owing to the increased payments of interest on loans taken for the execution of public works. From that time a deficit in the Budget became inevitable: this deficit amounted to 11,154,954 piastres in 1931, 13,864,785 piastres in 1932, and about 5 million piastres in 1933. Wholesale retrenchment was called for, and this has been successfully carried out, since the estimates have been reduced from 108,046,530 piastres in 1931 to 86,756,210 piastres in 1932, 72,164,190 piastres in 1933, and 60,953,940 piastres in 1934.

The decrease in public expenditure that has enabled these results to be obtained has been achieved by progressive reduction in the staff of certain services, and also—following the example of so many other countries, and particularly of most colonies—a reduction of 10 per cent. in the salaries and emoluments of all French and native officers. Thus the cost of administration, swollen during the period of prosperity, has been gradually reduced to modest proportions, and adapted to the curtailed resources brought about by the crisis.

THE NEW GOVERNOR-GENERAL

It follows from the above brief survey that Governor-General Pasquier succeeded in piloting Indo-China through a very delicate situation of affairs, not only economic and financial, but also political. But it does not follow that the great French colony of the Far East has emerged from all its difficulties; and a heavy task rests with the distinguished successor of the lamented deceased. M. René Robin is, like his eminent predecessor, an old official of high standing in Indo-China. He has held the post of Secretary-General for Indo-China, and of Resident-in-Chief of Tonkin, where he had constructed the immense system of dykes that has often saved the country from destruction by floods. He has already acted as Governor-General temporarily, and that during the time of the political disturbances, when he showed the greatest energy in quelling the threatening insurrections.

The appointment of M. Robin has been received with practically unanimous approval, both in Indo-China and in French colonial circles. Grave problems call for his attention, especially those concerning the agricultural and monetary situations. After fully studying these and making suggestions for the decision of Government, he will go back to Indo-China to continue Pierre Pasquier's policy of economic reform. May he achieve the same success!

THE INDIAN PROBLEM: A SIMPLE PLAN

By J. S.

Now that the Joint Select Committee is nearing the completion of its labours, and will be indicating final decisions for a democratic constitution for India, we may for a moment pause and consider the prospect of its working harmoniously and efficiently in these difficult days.

It does seem strange that, while some countries of the world have been running away from democracy abdicating in favour of dictatorship, India is preparing itself for its realization. Germany, Italy, and America, and even Russia, are now governed by dictators. It was declared that even England had no alternative to a dictatorship except a coalition Government, which took the place of a dictator.

What are the special reasons which have led India and England in these changing days to concentrate their best minds in designing a new plan for establishing a democratic system of government in this vast continent? The answer will be that India demands it. Can anyone specify this demand and harmonize it with the proposals contained in the White Paper? How did the people of India as a whole endorse the demand and accept the proposals?

The new constitution is to be a compromise between democratic principles and Indian conditions. It aims at conferring the right of voting on a mass of ignorant population, male and female, who have yet to learn the meaning of "responsibility." It has been decided to perpetuate separate communal electorates which have already undermined the foundations of good government. It is proposed to entrust the Governor with the power of intervention in opposition to the decisions reached in the Legislature and the Cabinet. The constitutional structure is to raise fissiparous foundations without any attempt at consolidation, and is to be buttressed with well-defined safeguards. It is hoped that this arrangement will satisfy Indian aspirations and at the same time provide all the essentials of good government. It is like pushing a leaking boat on stormy seas and leaving it to weather the storm.

It may seem late in the day to strike a note of warning, but is it wise in this changing world to adhere to theories and ignore the realities? At a time when democracy seems to have served its use-

fulness in countries where it was born, is it wise to enter upon this great adventure amidst a world in chaos.

So much has been said and written on the Indian constitution that a simple plan may seem ridiculous. Yet a simple plan may meet both the demands of India for self-government and the fulfilment by England of its pledged word.

Is there any reason why existing Provincial Councils and Cabinets, as at present constituted, should not be given full provincial autonomy? Is it right to alter this arrangement without the consent of the existing Councils? Would it not be wise to give the present Councils the power by a two-thirds majority—

- (i.) to enlarge or restrict the franchise,
- (ii.) to keep communal electorates separate or make them joint,
- (iii.) to increase or decrease the number of members of Councils,
- (iv.) to set up a second House?

At the centre again the present Legislative Assembly and the Council of State could be left untouched, modifying the constitution only so far as to transfer to Ministers, responsible to central legislature, subjects transferred in the provinces. This arrangement will automatically exclude Army, Foreign, and Political Departments.

It may be necessary to provide for a joint session of the Cabinet elected by the Chamber of Princes and the Central Legislature as the first step towards federation.

Government may go further to redeem its pledge and frame a Federal Constitution, but leave its attainment to the Provinces and the States by mutual agreement, by surrendering such powers to a Federal Government as have been surrendered in other countries.

The Central Legislature may also be empowered :

- (i.) To enlarge or restrict the franchise.
- (ii.) To keep communal electorates separate or make them joint.
- (iii.) To increase or decrease the number of members of Councils.

If this is done India can begin to work for its moral and material well-being and then the constitution can be moulded in the light of experience and in response to popular demand.

The best course is to allow the Indian constitution to grow in an atmosphere of freedom from external influence in response to the wishes of the people rather than superimpose it from outside. Give India the power to alter the Constitution and leave her to plumb her own weakness and strength.

In so doing the Government of India will have fulfilled its pledge of giving to the Provinces full provincial autonomy and the power to alter the Provincial constitution by the consent of

the people. It would have made Central Government responsible to legislature in all departments transferred to the Provinces with the power to alter its own constitution.

It need hardly be said that India at present needs a good and forward-looking Government, and the proposed constitution cannot give it. Economic conditions are deteriorating with such rapidity that only a wise, far-sighted, and courageous Government can save the country from ruin. Let us work together to give India such a Government immediately and without hesitation, and all may yet be well. What the people need is bread, and we offer them words or confused designs of a complex constitution.

INDIA,

March 2.

THE GAUDIYA MISSION IN LONDON

On the occasion of the sixtieth anniversary of the birthday of Paramahansa Bhakti Siddhanta Saraswati Goswami, Spiritual Master of the Gaudiya Mission, Swami B. H. Bon, preacher-in-charge of the London Gaudiya Mission, gave a reception at Grosvenor House on February 2. Lord Zetland presided and, after a cordial speech from the Maharajah of Burdwan, Lord Zetland said that India had always been the home of spiritual movements, and history was only repeating itself in the formation of the Gaudiya Mission. Some 450 years ago there was born at Mayapur, in the Nadiya district of Bengal, Sree Krishna Chaitanya, who, like Saul of Tarsus, underwent as a young man a great psychological transformation, and became a tremendous spiritual force in the life of India. As time went on his teachings were misunderstood or neglected, and, consequently, the Gaudiya Mission took its rise half a century ago. During his time in Bengal he (Lord Zetland) had visited the headquarters of the mission, and the scene of the *guru* (teacher) and his twelve *chelas* (disciples) around him seemed taken from ancient India. It might equally have been that of the Master in Galilee with his disciples. It could not conceivably have been that of professor and students of a twentieth-century university of India. Surely in an age like the present, when the minds of men were so directed to material considerations, it was good to have such evidences as the mission afforded that there were still great spiritual forces stirring the hearts of men.

In a brief speech, Swami B. H. Bon said that the Master was born at Puri, Orissa, in February, 1874. He was the fourth son of Thakur Bhaktivinode, who was at that time in charge of the temple of Jagannath in the capacity of deputy magistrate. Sree Saraswati Goswami was extremely fortunate in breathing a devotional atmosphere from his cradle. He was well educated and the early days of his scholastic career were spent in religious discourses and devotional activities with his father. From a very young age he was a powerful debater in literary as well as philosophical discussions. His proficiency in mathematics, especially in logarithms and the Indian method of trigonometrical calculations, was so great that at the early age of sixteen he was recognized as an authority in astronomy and astrology. He succeeded in pointing out the mathematical discrepancies of the influential leaders of the reformation of the Eastern calendar. But material art, science, or literature were not his life's work. He was destined for a higher mission which was spiritual and esoteric. He therefore renounced activities on the mundane plane, considering them to be of little worth in the eternal sense, and sought the realization of the *summum bonum* of mankind. From childhood he was imbued with the spiritual ideas and thoughts embodied in the life and teachings of Sree Krishna Chaitanya. At the age of seven he was initiated in the chanting of the Transcendental Name of God. He began to abstain from the luxuries of life and he would accept nothing which was not first offered to God.

He has been a vegetarian from birth and has always shown his spontaneous delight in the loving service of Sree Chaitanya—the Ideal of his life. As a lover of morality and as a sincere seeker of the Godhead he was blessed with the grace of a great Spiritual Master.

Since his initiation in 1900 by a great devotee of the Absolute Person he commenced his active propagation of the doctrine of divine love as preached by Sree Krishna Chaitanya. His manifold activities have included the estab-

lishment of forty-two centres in various parts of India, the publication of six journals and many rare scriptural works in different Indian languages with annotations and commentaries of his own on the basis of a devotional standard of judgment, the provision of theistic exhibitions on a novel and original plan, the establishment of educational centres for spiritual training, and the sending out of itinerant preachers to all parts of the world.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

INDIAN LABOUR IN RANGOON. By E. J. L. Andrew. (*Oxford University Press.*) 10s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by F. BURTON LEACH.*)

The importance of this subject is shown by the fact, realized by few people, that Rangoon is the largest port of immigration in the world, larger in recent years even than New York, the annual number of immigrants being over 300,000, who are nearly all Indians of the labouring class. The subject has two aspects—social, dealing with the status of the immigrant labourer; and political, dealing with the relations between immigrant Indian labour and indigenous Burmese labour, and Mr. Andrew deals mainly with the former. The book was completed as long ago as 1930, and the delay in publication is unfortunate, as both the economic and the political situations have materially changed in the interval. The trade depression has led to the Burmese, who previously scorned stevedore work, competing for it with the Indians, and this and the general financial slump has led to a decreased demand for Indian labour in Burma.

The social aspect of the question has not, however, changed to any extent, and the "maistry" system under which the labourers are engaged and paid through contractors remains, and the evils of this system are fully set out by Mr. Andrew. What strikes the reader is hardly so much that the labourer is underpaid as that the profits of the maistries are excessive, but the author does not sufficiently allow for the fact that the maistry takes all the risks, and that a considerable percentage of the advances given by him must be irrecoverable, owing either to the death of the labourer or to his clearing off and finding work in the mofussil. It seems unlikely therefore that the maistry makes in practice such a large profit as would appear from the figures given in the book. If the employers were to engage and pay their labourers direct on the system suggested by Mr. Andrew, they would have to face these risks, and would probably try to reduce the rates of wages. From the budgets given by Mr. Andrew it is clear that the careful labourer can live quite well and save out of his pay, and that their indebtedness is frequently due to extravagance, particularly on weddings, funerals, and festivals, the besetting sin of so many Indians.

The housing question is one of the most difficult, and there is no doubt that the accommodation of the labouring class in Rangoon is often deplorably bad. Here again, however, it must be remembered that most of the men have the most rudimentary ideas of domestic hygiene, and that until these have improved it is very difficult to design suitable quarters which can be constructed without prohibitive expense to the owners. Nobody will deny the undesirability of thirty or forty men with a few women and children, living in a single room, but nobody who knows the class in question will doubt that most of them would prefer this to better quarters and less cash

to spend, which at least in the present time of trade depression would probably be the result of any attempt to deal drastically with the problem of housing.

The whole question is one of the most important with which the reformed Government of Burma will have to deal, and if Burma is separated from India it will assume even greater political importance. Mr. Andrew's knowledge of the subject is unique, and his book should be read by all who have to deal with it.

THE GAVIMATH AND PALKIGUNDU INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA. Edited by Dr. R. L. Turner. (Hyderabad Archaeological Series No. 10. Published by H.E.H. the Nizam's Government.)

In 1930 a ryot of Kopbal, named Harappa, came across two inscriptions which he thought might furnish a clue to the "hidden treasure" that he was seeking. They proved to be in the Brahmi alphabet, one on Gavimath rock and the other on Palkigundu hill. At one time Gavimath was an important centre of Buddhist religion, but later, like Palkigundu, was occupied by Jains.

The Gavimath inscription consists of 8 lines with 211 *askaras*. It is completely legible although the stone has weathered considerably. Of the Palkigundu inscription, only a few *askaras* are now decipherable, and they are identical with parallel passages in the Gavimath inscription. Dr. R. L. Turner, who has edited these inscriptions, thinks they were originally identical and represent another version of the edicts of Asoka at Bairat in Jaipur, Sahasram in Bihar, Rupnath in the Central Provinces, Maski in the Deccan, and Brahmagiri and Siddapura in Mysore.

The Maski inscription, found in the Nizam's Dominions in 1915, is the only record which specifies the Emperor's personal name Asokasa. In the Gavimath inscription, as in others, he is mentioned as Devanampriya, and he says that he has been a lay-worshipper for 2½ years but has not acted very zealously. It is more than a year since he joined the community and he has acted very zealously. His message is that only a great man may not be able to mingle the gods with men, but wide heaven may be attained by a lowly man acting zealously.

Dr. Turner's scholarly editing, and the 16 excellent illustrations and 2 maps, make this monograph a useful addition to the list of Asokan edicts. There is an interesting note on the discovery by Mr. Yazdani, Director of Archaeology in the Nizam's Government.

ARTHUR DUNCAN.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MANAGING COMMITTEE OF THE PATNA MUSEUM FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31ST MARCH, 1932. (Superintendent of Government Printing, Bihar and Orissa. Rs. 1.8.)

During the year under review the Patna Museum acquired, *inter alia*, several terracotta figurines found in 1927 at an ancient site near Buxar;

a few bronze images; about 900 coins, mostly copper coins; and some interesting paintings and portraits of the Delhi School.

The bronze images, which were found at Kurkîhar, date back about eight to twelve centuries when the Pala Kings reigned in Bengal.

The coins include some of that prolific coiner Wima Kadphises or Kadphises II., about 78-110 A.D., and his successor Kanishka; silver punch-marked coins from Teregna in the Patna district; a few Mogul coins; and fourteen gold coins issued by the Pathan Sultans of Delhi, between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Among the portraits are those of Omar Khayyám (seventeenth-century school); Baber and his Queen Hasina Khatun, Humayun, Akbar, and Prince Muazzim (all eighteenth century); and Chand Bibi and Ghyiasuddin Muhammad Tughlak (nineteenth century).

ARTHUR DUNCAN.

CONTRIBUTION A L'ETUDE DU CONFLIT HINDOU-MUSULMAN. Par Rahmat Ali.
(Paris : *Paul Geuthner.*) 30 fr.

The book before us is a thesis submitted in French for a doctorate degree. Mr. Rahmat Ali is to be congratulated on his ability in expression.

The thesis is well divided and arranged. The author deals with the subject of blame as to the Hindu-Muslim troubles, and comes to the conclusion that the antagonism is chiefly of a political-economic nature. For instance, he makes the distinction between proprietors and money-lenders on the one hand and peasants on the other. He thinks that indigenous capitalism is longing to supplant the suzerain power.

Zo (THE ELEPHANT). By Etsuiro Sunamoto. Published in Japanese by the Seison Fuken Kai.

A monograph of such length and such magnitude has probably not been previously published. The work, which one must regret not to have been written in a European language, comprises over 2,300 pages, and is embellished by many illustrations and plates. There are several prefaces, one by Professor Ishikawa, of world reputation, and one by Prince Tokugawa. It is pleasing to note that the author is the happy son of a proud father. When fifteen years of age the father went to Osaka—so states the introduction—to learn the ivory trade; at the age of twenty-four he started business on his own account and manufactured ivory articles for export, and at his wish the first son, the author of this monograph, was sent to the university. It is right to assume that filial piety drove the son to justify the father's expectations. The work itself deals with the elephant from all points of view. The first part has for its subject the natural history, anatomy, ways, and habits, with stories showing the animal's intelligence, elephant hunting in various parts of the world, including Ceylon and Malaya. The use of elephants in war, in circus, and for work is explained

in great detail. Symbolism and folklore form lengthy chapters. In order to complete his survey the author has devoted special study to ivory, again in all aspects, including sculpture and religion. If this enormous array of contents will not astonish the reader, he will find a list of literature of 38 pages and an index or 102 pages. And if ever an author deserves special praise for hard work, knowledge, and wisdom, Mr. E. Sunamoto will certainly receive it from those who are able to follow him. It should be added that the author will not rest on his laurels, as he is preparing a work on the Lion, while a younger brother is engaged on a publication on the Tortoise.

THE INDIAN THEATRE, ITS ORIGINS AND ITS LATER DEVELOPMENTS UNDER EUROPEAN INFLUENCE. By R. K. Yajnik. (*Allen and Unwin.*) 10s. net.

In 1924 Professor Keith published a large volume on the Sanskrit drama and its origin. This work was much needed, but it dealt only with the classical side. Here we have a book considerably smaller in size, but the author, who is a Professor of English Literature in India, chiefly deals with the modern stage and the influence of European theatres—that is, he appeals to the wider circle of readers who delight in English literature and want to know about the more recent modern developments. The book is substantial and very ably compiled after long study of Indian and European literature, and every page gives testimony of most comprehensive knowledge. There are numerous notes referring to English works and Indian literature in various dialects on this subject. Finally, in Appendix C a seven-page list of renderings and adaptations of Shakespeare's plays is given, which alone entitles the learned author to special recognition by English literary institutions.

SAARDA, THE TALE OF A RAJPUT MAID. By D. M. Gorwalla. (Bombay.)

The reader of this poetic romance will delight in the easy flowing rhymes and the charming tale they unfold. In a few introductory notes the poet-writer explains that the poetical form came more natural to him than the tale in prose. One may add that prose would have been less delightful than these verses. One is almost reminded of Walter Scott's *Lady of the Lake*. This Rajput tale is similar in treatment.

INDIAN SCULPTURE. By Stella Kramrisch. With map and 116 illustrations. (*Oxford University Press.*) 8s. 6d. net.

A pupil of Professor Strzygowski of Vienna, Miss Kramrisch went to India some fourteen years ago, and enjoys the twofold advantage of her efficient training and uninterrupted opportunity for studying on the spot. She has certainly made good use of it, and has already made a name for herself as a connoisseur of Indian art. The volume before us provides a

good groundwork and a fine exposition of her subject. The divisions of the book are clear and decided. Sir John Marshall's work on Mohenjo-daro and the Indus civilization has perhaps for the first time been used as the earliest record of Indian prehistoric art. The next section has for its subject Classical Sculpture, and then comes Mediæval Sculpture. The numerous plates are explained in a scholarly and intimate manner, and a long bibliography reveals Miss Kramrisch's wide reading.

THE COINAGE OF SIAM. By Reginald Le May. With text illustrations and 32 plates. (Bangkok : *Siam Society*.)

Although English works of coins on most Oriental countries have attracted the attention of scholars and collectors, Siam had so far been neglected, and Mr. Le May has repaired this defect in a handsome manner. In the preface, Mr. Le May describes what has been done in this respect, generally in pamphlet form. The work is divided into two sections—the one dealing with the period A.D. 1350-1767, and the other called the Bangkok Dynasty from 1782 to date. It is worth while studying carefully the general survey which embodies the historical past, with special reference to numismatics of Siam and the neighbouring countries. We learn that the Táï were the first to introduce a standardized silver currency in the Far East. After a detailed discussion of the various types, the author comes to the technical part and describes the marks, upon which there has been no guidance. Sixty signs illustrate this part alone. A list of kings with their periods is quoted from Wood's *History of Siam*. Then the weights and values are examined. Mr. Le May has shown himself in this part to be a perfect scholar, all the more so as the task is pretty thankless in some directions. The second half of the volume is also treated in an able manner.

STORM CENTRES OF THE NEAR EAST. Personal Memoirs, 1879-1929. By Sir Robert Graves. With 27 illustrations. (*Hutchinson*.) 21s. net.

A residence in an official capacity of fifty years in any part of the world almost demands a memoir. Here we have one dealing with Turkey as it once was, and a most instructive volume is offered to a wide public. Reminiscences appear before us—many will be new to the younger generation—of Bulgaria at the time of Prince Alexander and Prince, later King, Ferdinand; of Armenia, Crete, Macedonia, and Constantinople, with the years of war and after. The whole history of the unfortunate Dardanelles campaign comes back to us, and we are reminded of the sinking of the *Triumph* and *Majestic* by enemy submarines. In his final chapter Sir Robert Graves regrets the too hasty change that the Government of the Ghazi has brought about. It is, perhaps, difficult for an outsider to judge the wisdom of this modernization. One naturally regrets provisions for defensive forces instead of for economic improvements. If heavy duties have been imposed on foreign goods, so they have elsewhere. The illustrations are very clear.

THE GOLDEN BREATH. Studies in Five Poets of the New India. By Mulk Raj Anand. (*John Murray.*) 3s. 6d. net.

The author has selected for his delightful booklet five poets of today's India with the view to interpreting the values of their respective faiths. It is not difficult to search for these names, as their owners have earned a world-wide reputation. They are Rabindranath Tagore, Muhammad Iqbal, Puran Singh, Sarojini Naidu, and Harindranath Chattopadhyaya. These poets are indeed the representatives of Modern India and are already known in this country. The author gives their life story and samples of their English poetry and summarizes the main points of their philosophy. It should be mentioned that Muhammad Iqbal has done great service to Islam by reviving Persian poetry in a most elegant and vigorous style.

FAR-OFF THINGS. Treating of the History, Aborigines, Myths, and Jungle Mysteries of Ceylon. By R. L. Spittel. Illustrated. (*Colombo Apothecaries Co.*) 10s. 6d. net.

The title fully explains what the 335 pages of text contain. It would be difficult to trace another book of recent years on Ceylon which is so truly entertaining and informative. For him who is not a specialist the chapters on the history from the earliest days to the present offer more than sufficient text in readable form. Those on the Veddas are exceptionally worth reading. They deal with the ancient and still surviving race, their physical features, social system, religion, and ceremonial dances, etc., and include a Veda tale. The chapters on sport are full of interest. The pictures help to make it illuminating.

THE HERALD WIND. Translations of Sung Dynasty Poems, Lyrics, and Songs. By Clara Candlin. (*John Murray.*) 3s. 6d. net.

Mr. L. Cranmer Byng deserves general acknowledgment for his efforts to popularize Oriental literature through the "Wisdom of the East" Series. The latest volume, *The Herald Wind*, forms a happy and novel addition, in so far as the volume introduces for the first time a monograph on Sung poetry. Miss Candlin reminds us of the charming intellectual life during that period when study circles were conducted hidden away in wooded valleys or along the banks of rivers. If anyone wishes to regain his soul, let him turn to this selection of charming poems and he will be richly rewarded. One of them which will appeal to many readers begins as follows :

Raindrops
Bid farewell to clouds and fall.
Flowing streams return not to their springs.
Sorrow that remains, when will it cease?
Bitter as the kernel of a lotus seed
Is my heart.

THE SUPERHUMAN LIFE OF GESAR OF LING. The Legendary Tibetan Hero, as Sung by the Bards of his Country. By Alexandra David Neel and the Lama Zongden. Rendered into English by V. Sydney. (*Rider.*) 18s. net.

English translations from the Tibetan are very limited, and the existing ones relate chiefly to religion. We must therefore thank Madame Neel and her collaborators for having given us the story, taken from mythology, which is widely known in Tibet and in Mongolia. Having resided a considerable time in Tibet, she has been busy writing several works which are well known in England, and therefore it can be taken for granted that she has been careful in rendering in a popular form, though with numerous explanatory notes, the history of the great hero. Professor Sylvain Lévi has introduced the volume, a sufficient guarantee that the life story really deserves the attention of the modern reader. Professor Lévi compares the epic with the *Iliad*, the *Nibelungen Lied*, and Roland legends, and it can be stated that in parts it is more lively than the European classics. The story of Chief Todong of Ling wooing at the age of ninety-three a young damsel of twenty-five might well be told in a book of English fairy tales. Such literature, put before the reader in a pleasant style, will make a wider public acquainted with the thought of Tibet than the more difficult, purely scholarly works.

LEGENDS OF OUR LADY MARY, THE PERPETUAL VIRGIN, AND HER MOTHER HANNA. Translated from the Ethiopic, with 37 plates. (*Oxford University Press.*) 7s. 6d. net.

ONE HUNDRED AND TEN MIRACLES OF OUR LADY MARY. Translated from the Ethiopic, with 64 plates. (*Oxford University Press.*) 10s. 6d. net.

Both works have previously been published for scholars, and are now reissued in a cheaper form for a wider public. The prices are attractive, but one wonders whether, apart from booklovers, a sufficient number of readers can be found to warrant popular editions. This does not mean that the legends and stories are not interesting. Far from it. They form, indeed, a storehouse of Christian Ethiopian literature, and they are fluently rendered in a kind of biblical style. Ethiopian art, as represented by the illustrations, can hardly be of the best. There is a good deal of expression, symmetry, and conception, but the drawing itself is frequently crude and unreal. Of course, the illustrations serve to make the reading of the text more inviting.

IRAN IM MITTELALTER NACH DEN ARABISCHEN GEOGRAPHEN. Von Paul Schwarz. Vol. VIII., Nos. 5 and 6 (Stuttgart: *W. Kohlhammer.*) Mk. 2.40 each.

This valuable publication was begun in 1896, and in 1933 reached as far as page 1246. The learned author has spent forty years on what must be for him labour of love. He begins with the town of Usnuh. Everything that can be mentioned regarding this small town is given, and different

Arab writers have been consulted, such as Istahri, Ibn Haukal, Ibn al-Athir, Jakut. We learn of the situation of the place, its products, and trade. The same applies to other towns in longer or shorter notices. On page 1178 Mr. Schwarz deals with the inhabitants, and everything possible that he has been able to gather from the originals has been collected. For instance, Mukaddasi mentions that the men have big beards. Throughout these details constant references are made to the wonderful fruit which is grown in those parts, and minute details are given of the food of the people, such as dates, rice, fish, bread. Their clothing is only occasionally mentioned by the Arab writers. We find the whole life during the Middle Ages passing before us, and on completion of the work everything worth noting will be found in this valuable book. The references could not be verified, as they will be given at the end.

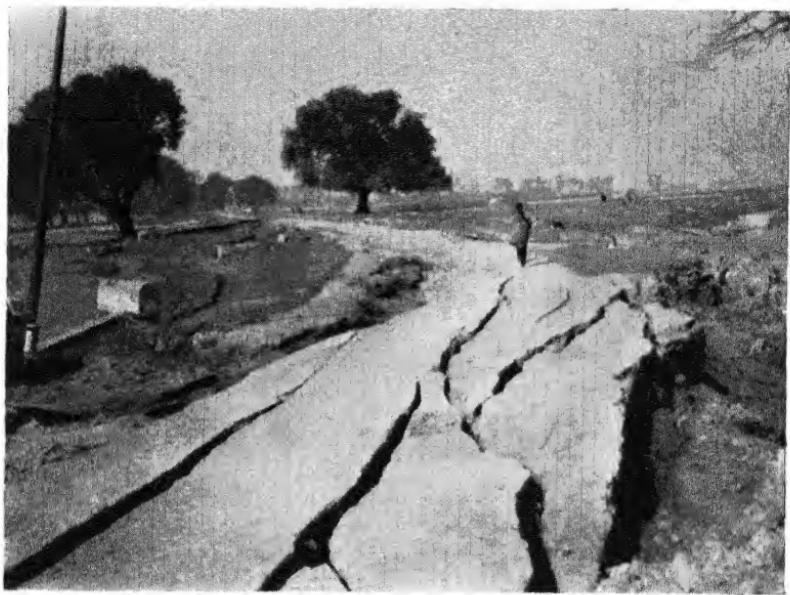
KETTLE DRUMS. By N. Ramabhadran. (Mangalore.)

The author is a police officer, and as such he has taken his opportunity of studying the ways of life. But he is also gifted with a vivid mind and a fluent pen. By uniting the three he has compiled a book of delightful short stories in an elegant style, which he now offers to the English reading public. The author deserves to be known in England, where there is a growing desire for better insight into Indian character and conditions. The stories are absolutely human and offer no difficulty whatever in the reading. For various reasons one can notice Mr. Ramabhadran's familiarity with English classical and modern literature, and this being so, let us return the compliment and take up this small book and agreeably spend a few leisure hours with him. No one will be disappointed. There is a useful glossary.

GORDON IN CHINA. By B. M. Allen. With maps and illustrations. (*Macmillan.*) 7s. 6d. net.

A fair number of books exist on the Taiping Rebellion, of which the best known is by A. Wilson, 1868, and pamphlets containing translations from the Chinese were also issued soon after the rebellion. Mr. Allen has evidently not made it his task to give an account in detail of the whole campaign, else he would have cited from the previous writers; but he has done more—he has supplemented that literature by material that has not yet been published. This is very important. The public is not merely interested in Chinese Gordon, it is entitled to be in possession of all the facts. It is not generally known that Gordon was acquainted with Mr. Robert Hart, with whom he discussed military matters. For his services he received from the Emperor the rank of General and with it the right to wear the Yellow Jacket. The book is compiled in a concise style, and every sentence is full of meaning.

THE BIHAR EARTHQUAKE
PLATE I



MUZAFFARPUR POLO GROUND,

The cracks extend down to as much as 10 ft., and are up to 6 ft. wide. The levels of the ground have been completely altered.

PLATE II

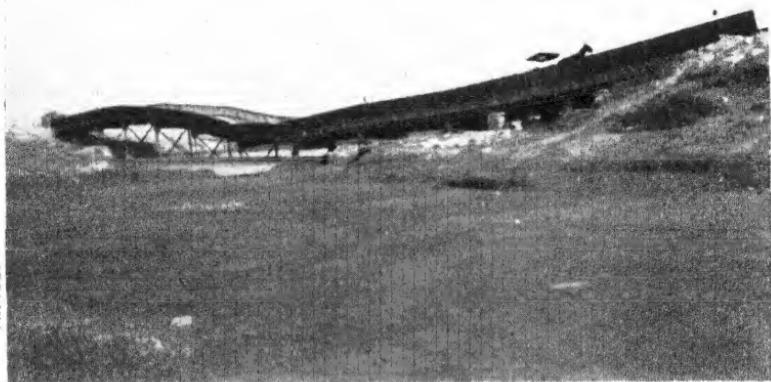


SUNK IN THE MIDDLE BUT STILL OPEN, A BRIDGE NOT FAR FROM THE NEPALESE BORDER.

Note the earthquake crack in the foreground.

To face p. 280

THE BIHAR EARTHQUAKE
PLATE III



STILL OPEN TO TRAFFIC AS YOU WILL SEE FROM THE TICCA GHARRY
ON THE RIGHT, A BRIDGE NEAR RYAM FACTORY.

In the foreground is sand which has covered large stretches of the country.

PLATE IV



MUZAFFARPUR DISTRICT COURT.

The damage illustrates the general effect of the earthquake on buildings. Whilst the walls are intact, floors and roofs have collapsed utterly.

To face p. 281

PLATE V



Acknowledgements — R. K. P. Mohanty.

WINTER SPORT IN KASHMIR.

- | | | | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Xmas Col. | 4. Killywhite slopes. | 7. Central Nullah. | 10. South Khilan. | 13. Jhangra slopes, |
| 2. Café des bien Fatigués. | 5. North Khilanmarg. | 8. Lone tree gulch. | 11. Arinwarat. | 16. Hadlow's gully. |
| 3. Xmas gully. | 6. Catchment Flats. | 9. Gadarene. | 12. Fitz Punch. | 17. North glade. |
| | | | 15. The Punch Bowl. | 13. Dhosight run. |

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To face last page of text.

PLATE VI



WINTER SPORT IN KASHMIR : START OF THE RACE FOR THE LILLYWHITE CHALLENGE CUP.

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PLATE VII



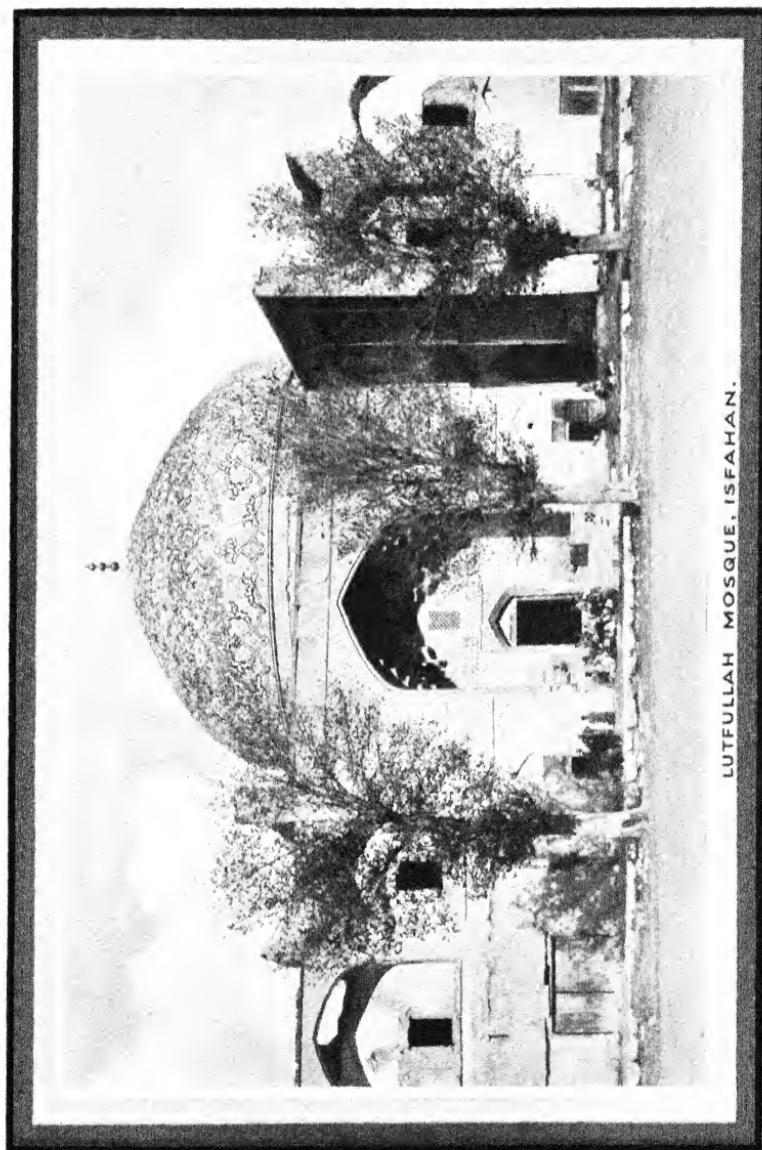
ONE OF THE FOUNTAINS IN THE NEWLY-CONSTRUCTED TERRACE GARDENS AT
THE KRISHNARAJASAGARA DAM NEAR MYSORE CITY.

PLATE VIII



THE MYSORE STALL AT THE BRITISH INDUSTRIES FAIR (1934).

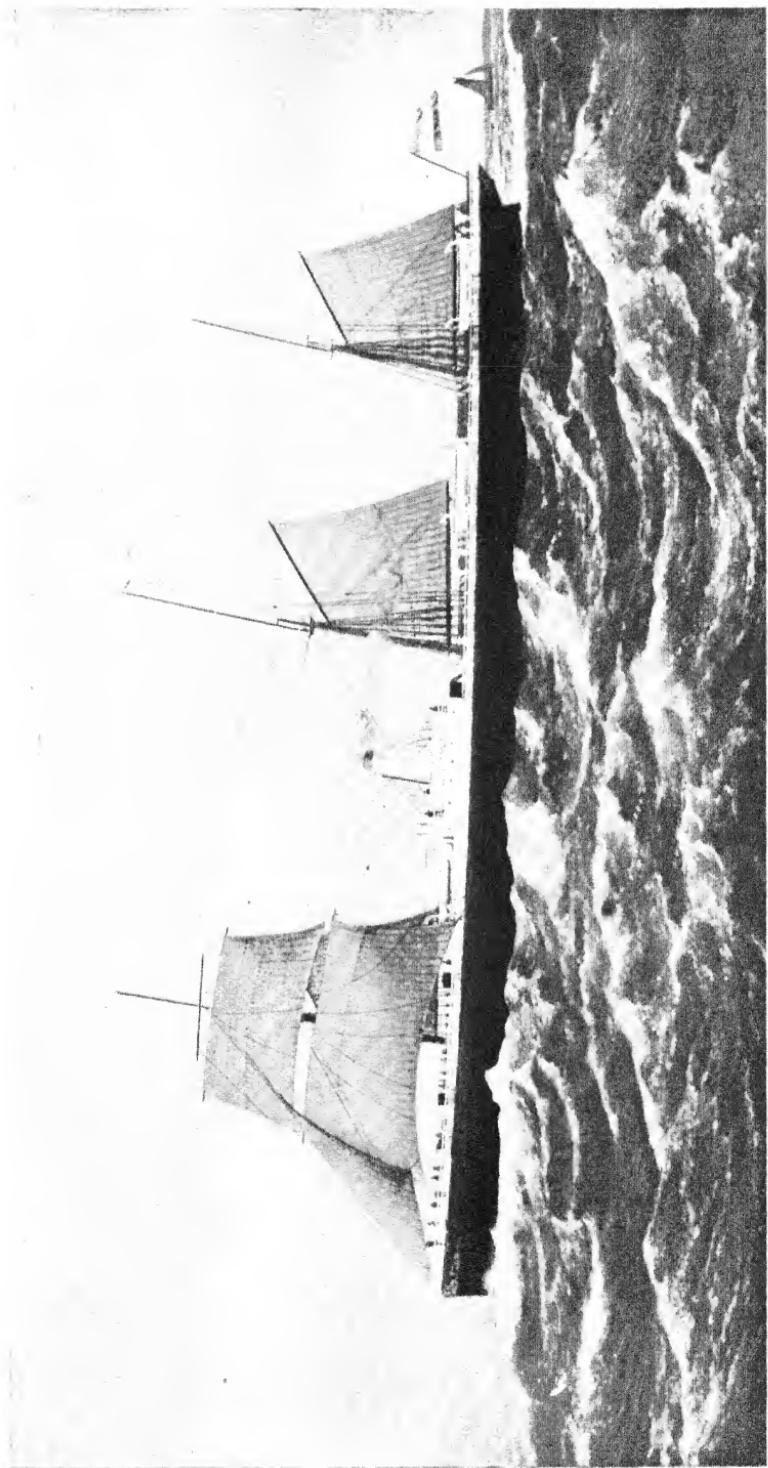
PLATE IX



LUTFULLAH MOSQUE, ISFAHAN.

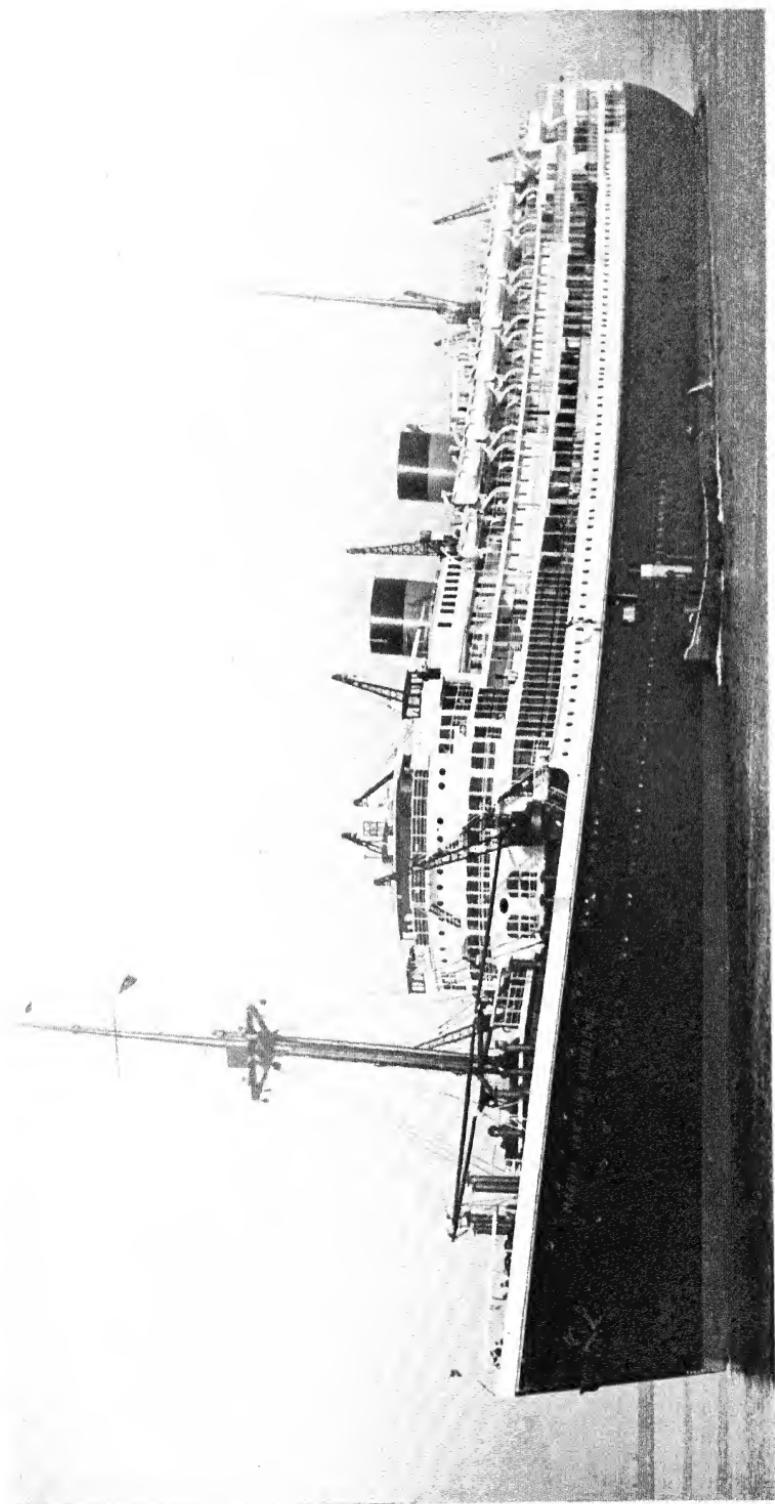
*Photograph by Mr. Lawrence Lockhart.
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PLATE X



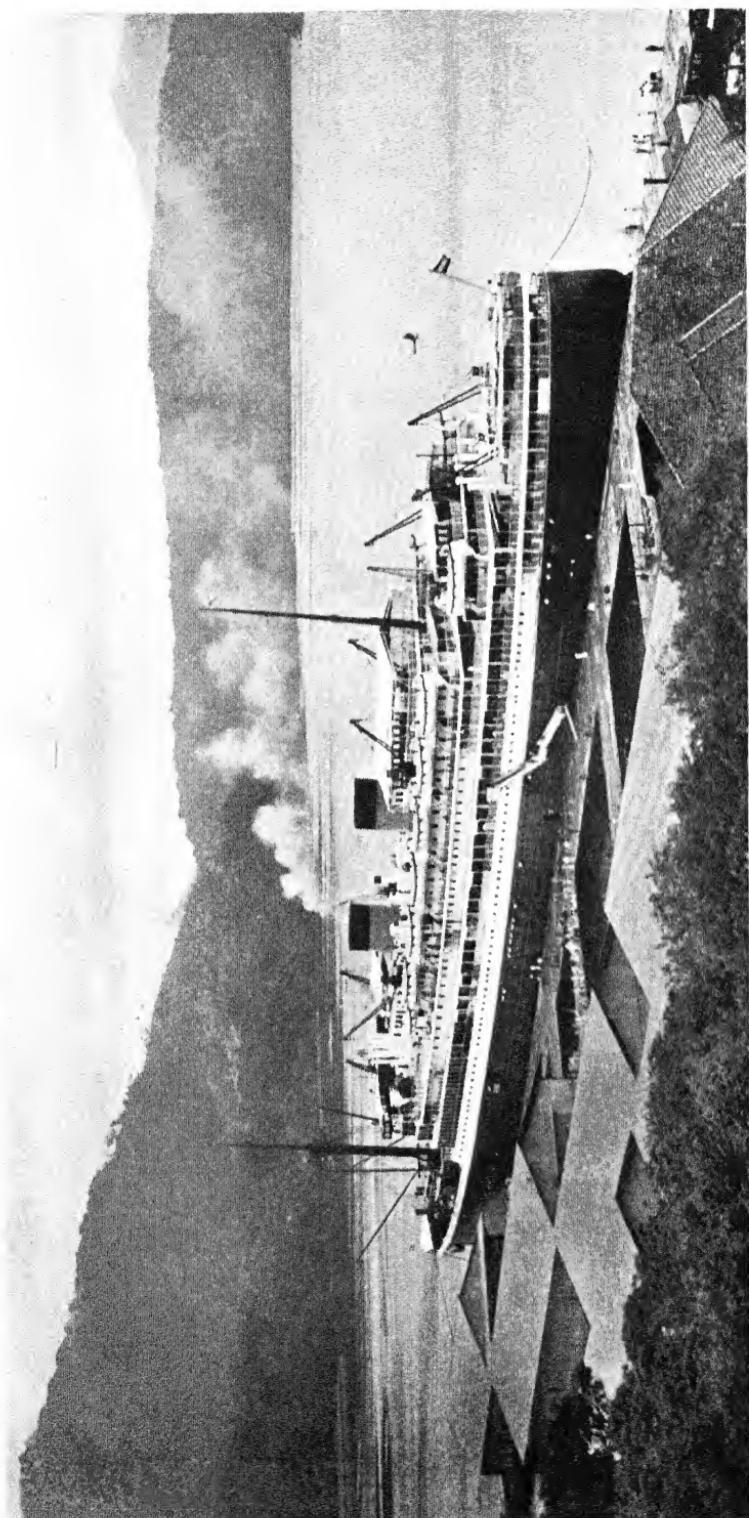
S.S. "CONRAD" (3,000 TONS) BUILT IN THE CLYDE IN 1872 TO THE ORDER OF THE NEDERLAND LINE FOR THE EAST INDIES SERVICE.

PLATE XI



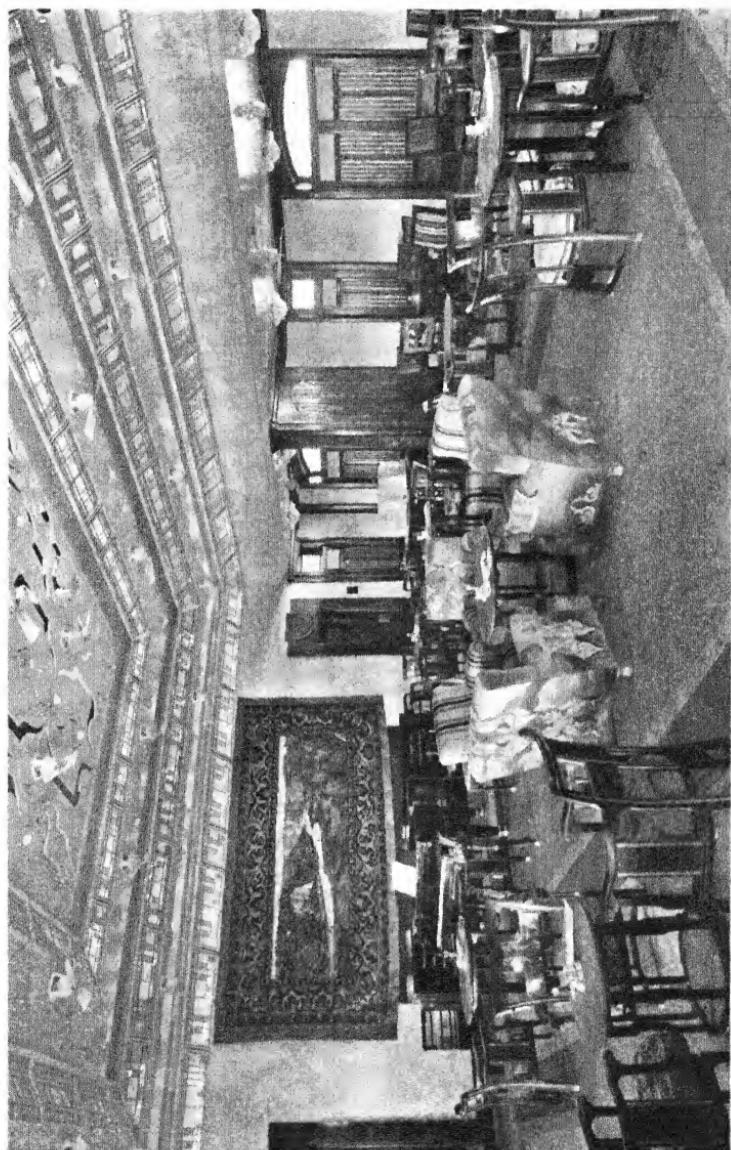
T.S.M.V. "MARNIN VAN ST. ALDEGONDE" (19,000 TONS) BUILT AT FLUSHING IN 1930 TO THE ORDER OF THE NEDERLAND LINE,
EMBODYING ALL THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS IN THE JAVA TRADE.

PLATE XII



A NEDERLAND LINER IN THE HARBOUR OF SABANG (NORTH SUMATRA), THE OPENING UP OF WHICH HAS ALTERED THE CHARACTER OF THE MAIL SERVICE TO JAVA.

PLATE XIII



MUSIC ROOM IN THE T.S.M.V. "MARNIX VAN ST. ALDEGONDE," A STRIKING EXAMPLE OF DUTCH INTERIOR DECORATION AS APPLIED TO SHIPS IN THE JAVA TRADE.

PLATE XIV



THE GREAT SNOW-COVERED RANGE OF THE SAFED-KOH, THE BOUNDARY LINE BETWEEN INDIA
AND AFGHANISTAN.

Parachinar Fort on the left, and the famous chinar tree, from which it gets its name, on the right.

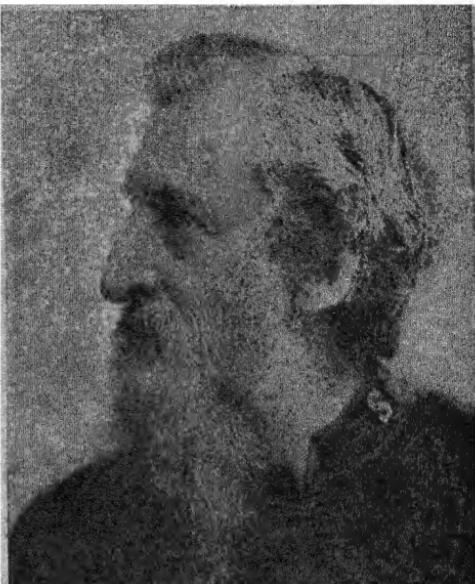
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